JĀUR

GĪTA GOVINDA

KAPILA VATSYAYAN



NATIONAL MUSEUM NEW DELHI

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GĪTA-GOVINDA

(a dated sixteenth century *Gīta-Govinda* from Mewar)

Kapila Vatsyayan



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Dedicated to the loving memory
of my father
who was a pillar of strength and sustenance
joy, love and light

PREFACE.

Although conscious of the unique impact of the *Gīta-Govinda* and its phenomenal pervasive influence throughout India, I had no idea that the project entitled '*Gīta-Govinda* and the Indian artistic traditions' (on which I had launched some years ago) would assume such gigantic proportions. Over these years the more I have delved into it, the more humble and small I have felt before the subject of my enquiry. The tiny book of barely twenty-four cantos ascends to the fathomless depths of the ocean and the immeasurable perennial flow of the Ganges.

I had begun in the belief that the primary source material was largely known and that my task would be to pull together the diverse threads for a meaningful examination of the creative use of the principles of inter-dependence and inter-relationship of the Indian literary, plastic and performing arts, enunciated in the aesthetic theories. The primary objective was to undertake a case study of this artistic phenomenon through a single work so as to unfold the multiple dimensions of the poetic imagery and its manifestations through diverse media.

As I proceeded I realised that despite the hundred odd published editions, commentaries and translations of the *Gīta-Govinda* (now included in the bibliography), there was a vast body of primary source material extant in private and public collections which required investigation. This ranged from epigraphical records, commentaries, translations and imitations, based on the *Gīta-Govinda* to pictorial material in practically all schools of miniature painting. It was also necessary to undertake extensive field work in temples, melas, community gatherings, in order to assess its survival in the living continuities still vibrant in contemporary music and dance performance.

It soon became clear that neither a historical reconstruction nor a critical appraisal of the totality of the impact of the *Gīta-Govinda* was possible without a fuller examination of this hitherto unknown material.

The first pre-requisite was thus to list, collate, document the primary material, scattered all over India and some repositories abroad. Even a rough listing of the unpublished manuscripts aggregated 1500 or more. Besides, there were secondary sources from the field of poetics, music, dance and drama, which required to be perused, apart from the creative works of the different Indian languages. The documentation of the oral traditions accumulated to about two hundred hours of taped music, and this is by no means comprehensive.

The classification and analysis of this material became a task unto itself, primary and fundamental to any subsequent interpretative appraisal of the totality of the *Gīta-Govinda*. traditions. A full investigation of this material will perhaps make it possible to identify the exact paths of mobility and the nature of interaction and communication which took place, and takes place, amongst regions and diverse arts and between levels of society.

While this task will remain an essential pre-requisite for a historical reconstruction, recognising the limitations of a single researcher for conducting such an inter-disciplinary study, the original methodology and approach has been slightly modified. It is now proposed to provide an annotated catalogue and bibliography of the primary source material (under preparation) for future researches. I am for the present restricting myself to an intensive analysis of a select number of unpublished manuscripts and commentaries. The annotated bibliography, when complete, will hopefully provide the basis for the rough chronology of the spread of the *Gīta-Govinda* over a period of six hundred years of Indian history.

Amongst the unpublished manuscripts is a valuable group of illustrated manuscripts and sets of miniature paintings based on the *Gīta-Govinda*. They are found in all parts of India and in Nepal, except Kashmir and the South. They range from the mid-fifteenth century to the late nineteenth century.

As a first step, it is proposed to consider each of these manuscripts and sets of paintings based on the *Gīta-Govinda* individually. Nearly forty such unpublished manuscripts, or sets of paintings, comprising about 600 paintings, have been located and fully documented. This has come as a welcome suprise, especially because I was strongly advised to exclude this area in the mistaken, though sincere belief, that all the illustrated manuscripts were known and published. While I am greatful for the advice of the eminent art historians, I am glad I did not accept it, because my research has belied this notion. Indeed, it is my belief that more illustrated manuscripts may still come to light.

Be this as it may, the discovery and full documentation of these illustrated manuscripts demands a full study of each one individually. The are significant both as primary incontrovertible data for determining chronology, and valuable for their intrinsic worth as pictorial expression. They provide the basis for exploring the nature of relationship between the poetic theme, phraseology and imagery and the pictorial interpretation. Each of these studies is planned as an in-depth study from the point of view of the inter-relationship and interdependence of the diverse artistic media, especially textual and pictorial, and will not be restricted to mere stylistic analysis of each pictorial school. Perhaps this will fulfil one initial objective of the project, namely to investigate the power of the literary work for multiple interpretations and the creative use of the principle of inter-relationship and interdependence at the pan-Indian, as also regional, local, specific level.

Ten such monographs on the illustrated manuscripts and sets of paintings are planned. Critical volumes on the *Gīta-Govinda* and the history of the literary, pictorial and performing arts will follow.

For the present, five such monographs are in the press. They belong to different regions of India extending from Mewar to Assam. The Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* is the first amongst these individual monographs to be published. The manuscript is valuable both as a dated document, with a clear colophon, which enables us to establish chronology, comment on date, provenance, etc., and for the excellence of its literary and pictorial material. It raises many important questions of the development of languages and dialects and the evolution of miniature painting styles, during the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

Although the monograph stands on its own, it must be considered as one of a series and as a unit of the larger study on the *Gīta-Govinda* and the Indian artistic traditions. It will, I hope, provide the basis for critically examining some fundamental assumptions of the Indian arts, particularly the processes and nature of interaction amongst regions, languages and the arts. Perhaps the analysis will also reveal the areas of dependence and autonomy of word, paint line, brush and colour. Further, it may unfold the manner by which a theme is interpreted concurrently at the universal mythical and local specific plane.

I am gratified that the National Museum of India should have decided to publish this first volume in their publication programme. I am grateful to the institution and to its officers, particularly Dr. N. R. Banerjee, Dr. P Banerjee, Dr. C. B. Pandey, Shri B. S. Bisht and Shri J. C. Arora who have all been most cooperative and helpful. Dr. Grace Morley has always been gracious in sparing time to peruse manuscripts with meticulous care and offer many valuable and constructive editorial suggestions. To her, I offer my sincerest thanks. Shri B. M. Jawalia of the Saraswati Bhandar, Rajasthan, has helped in determining the exact data of the colophon according to the Christian era. Besides, he responded readily to my request for an edited version of the Mewari-Bagari text. This appears as an appendix. I am grateful to him.

Many museums and individuals have given permission for reproductions of paintings from collections. I am grateful to them all, particularly to the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and the B. J. Institute, Ahmedabad, the Bharat Kala Bhavan, especially Dr. Anand Krishna and Shri O. P. Tandon, the Saraswati Bhandar, Udaipur, particularly Shri B. M. Jawalia, the Maharaja of Kankorali, through Shri U. P Shah, the Gujarat Society Museum, Ahmedabad, particularly Shri Ramesh Patel, and many others. To Shri S. Sharma and Shri Krishan Kumar, I am indebted for typing the manuscripts and the bibliography.

Finally, I am grateful to the Jawaharlal Memorial Fund for the award of the Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship. It provided the opportunity to conduct a research which has assumed, as I have said before, the dimensions of a life-long pursuit. I should particularly like to thank Dr. Karan Singh for his encouragement and interest.

On this occasion, I should also like to remember with deep gratitude two other persons. First my Guru, the late Amobi Singh, who was responsible for the first creative experience of the *Gīta-Govinda* in Manipuri. Indeed, the research was initially begun at his command and behest. Secondly, my revered father who provided the emotional, security and support throughout the period of my fellowship. Although both are no longer with me physically, I know that their spirit will continue to provide the inspiration and faith to pursue the *Gīta-Govinda* for many more years. Also, I know that both would have rejoiced at this first tiny fruit of the many branched and hued tree which is the *Gīta-Govinda*. Gurūjī would have exclaimed "Jai Radhe", "Jai Radhe"

New Delhi
27th May, 1979.

Kapila Vatsyayan

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

In an attempt to study the unique role of the *Gīta-Govinda* in the literary, pictorial, musical and theatrical history of the Indian arts between 1250-1850 many hitherto unpublished illustrated manuscripts of the *Gīta-Govinda* have come to light. These belong to diverse schools of Indian miniature painting and cover a vast geographical area ranging from Gujarat to Orissa and Assam. While an independent larger study is contemplated on the *Gīta-Govinda* and the Indian artistic traditions (literary, visual and the performing arts), the present monograph restricts itself to a consideration of an important illustrated manuscript acquired by the National Museum in 1976. Similar monographs on twenty other unpublished illustrated *Gīta-Govinda* manuscripts are envisaged as part of the larger study. This volume should be considered as one of the series.

The manuscript acquired by the National Museum is described so far, as a Gujarati illustrated manuscript of the 16th century. It raises some questions regarding both the language and the prose style of the text, as also the stylistic features of the paintings.

The accession details of the manuscript as per General Accession Register in the National Museum are

Title: *Gīta-Govinda*
General Acc. No.: 76.115/1-30
Language: Gujarati
Script: Devanāgarī
Date: 1650 Saṁvat, *i.e.* 1593 A.D.
Total folios: 30
Illustrations: 28
Size of folios: 27 x 7 cms.
Size of illustrations: 22.5 x 7 cms.

The first observation on these details pertains to the language of the manuscript. Although on the face of it the language appeared to have some Gujarati case endings, a reference both to Shri U. P Shah and the B. J. Institute, Ahmedabad, confirmed our initial finding that the text was not in old Gujarati. Shri B. M. Jawalia of the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Udaipur, ultimately helped in deciphering the language and kindly sent a working Nāgarī-

transcription and Hindi rendering of the text. He has now edited the text which appears in Devanāgarī as Appendix I.

At the outset it should be made clear that the text is in prose and that the author is not following the patterns of the *sargas* and *prabandhas* of Jayadeva's *Gīta-Govinda*. It will also be evident that although the manuscript has been classified and catalogued initially as a *Gīta-Govinda* manuscript, it is in fact a work which may be identified as one modelled on the *Gīta-Govinda* in old Mewari (with words of old Bāgarī), but is not a faithful translation of the *Gīta-Govinda*. These initial comments are necessary in view of the fact that so far all the scholars who have had a first look at the manuscript have called it a *Gīta-Govinda* manuscript in Gujarati of the 16th century. These include Dr. Anand Krishna and Dr. B. N. Goswamy the National Museum and the scholars will no doubt revise these tentative findings when they examine the manuscript more closely.

Based on the edited version and Shri Jawalia's reading of the text, a translation of the contents is presented. The textual and pictorial material has been correlated. Thereafter an attempt has been made to evaluate both its historical and artistic importance. Its provenance and the colophon make it an important piece of evidence for a re-assessment of the evolution of early Rajasthani painting. Its language and the method of narration assume significance in the context of literary drama or recitative forms.

Although it has not been possible to include here a complete faithful translation of the text, the gist of each folio and the *bhāvas* (sentences or sections) as literally as possible, has been presented to convey the main points of the narrative and the manner in which the theme is handled. The text and illustration folios have been placed in juxtaposition to give an idea of the relationship of the text and the illustrations.

Even from this somewhat abridged description of the thematic content of the work, it will be clear that although the work has been considered a *Gīta-Govinda* manuscript, it is in fact a text closely modelled on the *Gīta-Govinda,* but not an exact translation of the *Gīta-Govinda*. There are significant departures in the sequence of events. A closer comparison of this prose version and other similar versions in Gujarati, early Rajasthani and Mewari may well tell us of the existence of a *nāṭaka* based on the *Gīta-Govinda* which was called *Śrī Bhagavān Govinda Raṅgalīlā*. For the time being, however, we have looked at this text and illustrations alone for the few conclusions which are obvious and the many questions it raises both from the point of view of the text and the illustrations.

1. First is the question of provenance. The language and the colophon make it clear that this does not belong either to early Gujarati or to an *Apabhraṁśa bhāṣā* which is akin to Avadhī, etc. but is a Bāgarī-Mewari mixture. It is apparently from a village called Jāur (जाउर) or Jāvar. The exact location of the village is thirty miles from Udaipur. The village continues to be a centre of the traditional arts. The name, Kīratadāsa, may refer either to the author or the painter. The exact date works out to be 17th February 1594 A.D. and not 1593 A.D., so far given in the accession details of the National Museum.

2. The narrative reads in part as a story, but rather more

as a dialogue with three main characters — Rādhā, Sakhī and Kṛṣṇa. The dialogues are written in a simple style as conversation with many familiar similies and metaphors, but without the ornate elaboration of *rīti kāla* poetry of a slightly later date. The author's acquaintance with the original *Gīta-Govinda* is clearly evident in the manner in which the story proceeds alternating between separation and union. It is also obvious that although the sequence of many events is changed, the author was familiar with Rāṇā Kumbhā's commentary.

3. The appearance of the word *jhānkī* is significant: it points to a dramatic presentation of a tableaux type which begins to appear in the 16th century in many parts of Northern India. The word is used in two different senses: first in its primary meaning as glimpse, and the second in its derived meaning as referring to a *jhānkī* type of presentation. It may also suggest that the prose rendering may have been a pictorial representation of a play by that name. Also words like *ghūmar,* etc. for the dance tell us of the author's preoccupation with a typical dance form prevalent in Rajasthan.

4. The composition's heavy reliance on the *Gīta-Govinda* is borne out by both the colophon and the internal evidence of the text. Many passages are a faithful prose rendering of passages of the *Gīta-Govinda.* In others the author departs fairly radically and often he changes the sequence of events.

5. Finally, there is the important question of determining the stylistic features of the paintings, in relation to what has been termed as the Western Indian or Gujarati school by some and the Apabhraṁśa by others. Also, since the language and the provenance is Rajasthan, it would be necessary to investigate if a similar style was prevalent in other parts of Rajasthan by comparing it with other examples, both contemporaneous and those that precede and follow it.

While it is not the purpose of this monograph at this stage to attempt a comprehensive analysis of the manuscript from all these points of view, a few broad conclusions are self-evident.

The manuscript is valuable for a study of the spread of the *Gīta-Govinda* in different parts of India. Judging from the inscriptional evidence of Palhanapura[1] it would appear that the theme, if not the work, had already travelled to Gujarat within sixty to seventy years of its creation. Then occurs a larger gap because the next important commentary on the *Gīta-Govinda* appears only in the fifteenth century with the writing of Mānāṅka's commentary and Rāṇā Kumbhā's commentary on the *Gīta-Govinda* in 1463 (15th century).[2] To this period also belongs the earliest Gujarati series on the *Gīta-Govinda* to which Sri M. R. Mazmudar had drawn our attention as early as 1938.[3] This series, however, restricts itself to the Daśāvatāra theme. Literary works based on the *Gīta-Govinda* begin to appear in all parts of India, including Bengal, Orissa, Mithila, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh by the 16th century. A chronological history of this material is being attempted elsewhere and this will make the mobility pattern clear. Here it is sufficient to point out that prose works based on the *Gīta-Govinda* are as prolific as the commentaries and the imitations which indicate a *tāla* and *rāga* for each *prabandha.* The present work does not fall into the category of either the commentaries or the imitations meant to be sung or danced and which are

found in practically all parts of India. It belongs to a genre which was prevalent in Orissa where a dramatic presentation in prose was attempted. Amongst these the *Pīyūṣa Laharī* from Orissa is an important landmark. Other versions of a similar nature appear in Gujarati and Maithili.[5]

The manner of this dramatic recital is obviously in the form of a *jhānkī,* a tableaux-like presentation, in which many *līlā nāṭakas* were presented in Northern India.[6] The division of the *bhāvas* where the story moves from one situation to the other was a common feature of all the *līlā nāṭakas* of the period. Possibly this type of prose recitation accompanied a dramatic presentation.

Although the work under consideration does not follow the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and is closely modelled on the *Gīta-Govinda,* it has some interesting departures. The chief amongst these are the two seeming meetings of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in an intermediate stage without an actual consummation. These may be accounted for by the author's misreading the sections of the *Gīta-Govinda* where the fantasies of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa of reminiscences are vividly described. While the theme of separation and meeting is repeated in the work, its movement pattern does not have the same easy flow that we witness in the *Gīta-Govinda.* There are some abrupt passages and transitions. It would, for example, be difficult to break up the present work into the complete series of *nāyikā bhedas* so evident in the transition from one mood to an other in the *Gīta-Govinda.* Nevertheless, there is a clear movement of *vipralambha* and *sambhoga,* the two predominant aspects of presenting the *śṛṅgāra rasa.* Each of these is clearly and unequivocally presented both in the case of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The role of the *sakhī* is important and she presents a near perfect example of the conventional character with all the attributes of the poetic motif. In this respect it faithfully follows the *Gīta-Govinda* format. The role of the *sakhī* in persuading Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is indispensable to the conception, on many planes, both mystical and artistic.

Thematically, the illustrations have a vague but not a precise relationship with the text. Obviously the two media, *i.e.* the 'word' and the 'visual presentation', handle the same theme with an autonomy distinctive to each medium. The deduction that the illustrations are only a stimulus for the painter to interpret the theme according to his unique understanding would not be incorrect judging from this example and many others. Indeed, the painter takes a single word or a single sentence or motif to represent the mood pictorially. Variations and improvisations are many. The painter is nowhere trying to illustrate the text precisely or unimaginatively, a view point held by some in the context of Indian miniatures. What is perhaps nearer to the truth is the fact that the painter perhaps like the theatre director or the director of *jhānkī* type of presentation was choosing the most dramatic heightened moment for his presentation. In this respect the latter two were closer to each other than to the verbal expression, full of loaded imagery of the poet.

Finally, as regards the style of the paintings and the use of spatial demarcations, sense of the perspective, the linear drawing of figures, the use of the 'extended eye' or the 'farther eye', the pointed nose, the use of coiffures and garments, the manuscript is reminiscent of some others found in Gujarat, but never identical. It has, however, little or nothing in common with the *Gīta-Govinda* folios in the Prince of Wales Museum, known as the *Caurapañcāśikā*

group. Nor does it have any features of the other *Gīta-Govinda* paintings of the N C. Mehta collection now in the Gujarat Museum Society or the one with the Maharaja of Kankorali, all identified as the early Western Indian by some and Rajasthani by others. Also, the style of these paintings does not make it a natural precursor of the two folios of the *Gīta-Govinda* in the National Museum and those others of the early 18th century in the Udaipur Museum or that of the Saraswati Bhandara (c. 1714 A.D. and c. 1654 A.D. respectively) or the Kumar Sangram Singh collection or the *Gīta-Govinda* in the Maharaja of Jaipur collection.[7] It has also little to do with the examples of early Rajasthani paintings brought to light by Ratan Parimoo and called Lodhi period by Karl Khandalavala.[8] It is also not akin to some folios of the *Gīta-Govinda* recently acquired by the City Palace Museum, Jaipur.

The rough chronology of some of these *Gīta-Govinda* sets so far accepted places them in this order:

(a) The *Gīta-Govinda,* Gujarati, published by Sri M. R. Mazmudar, 15th Century.[9]

(b) The *Gīta-Govinda* in the B. J. Institute, Ahmedabad, in a folk idiom, also published by M. R. Mazmudar. He places it in the 15th century and Sri Karl Khandalavala places it in the early 17th century.[10]

(c) The *Caurapañcāśikā* style *Gīta-Govinda,* dated 1525-1570 by Karl Khandalavala, considered to be from Jaunpur.[11]

(d) The *Gīta-Govinda* folios in the National Museum, also dated late 16th century by Moti Chandra and Karl Khandalavala (c. 1575 A.D.).[12]

(e) The *Gīta-Govinda* of the N. C. Mehta collection which N. C. Mehta places in the 15th century and Moti Chandra and Karl Khandalavala in the early 17th century (1610 A.D.).[13]

(f) A few folios (eighteen) of the *Gīta-Govinda* acquired by the City Palace Museum, Jaipur in 1977. Stylistically it is close to the *Daśamaskandha* of the Jodhpur Library or the *Daśamaskandha* of the Jagdish Mittal collection.[14]

(g) A *Gīta-Govinda* set in the collection of the Maharaja of Kankorali, some of its folios being in the same style as some folios of the N. C. Mehta collection. This set would also have to be placed latest at the end of the 16th or early 17th centuries.[15]

(h) A *Gīta-Govinda* set in the collection of the Maharaja of Jaipur. Stylistically it is closer to the Malwa idiom[16] and cannot perhaps be dated later than mid 17th century.

(i) The *Gīta-Govinda* set in the Saraswati Bhandara, Udaipur, judging from a colophon which appears in a manuscript of the *Kavipriyā* which precedes the *Gīta-Govinda* manuscript. This belongs to the mid-seventeenth century.[17]

(j) Some paintings of this set, *i.e.* (i) above, are close to the *Gīta-Govinda* in the collection of the Raja of Navalagarh, dated 1650 A.D. by Motichandra in the Lalit Kala Akademi publication on Mewar paintings.[18]

Thereafter follow other *Gīta-Govinda* sets in the various sub-schools of Bundi, Kishangarh and Jaipur and those of Basohli and Kangra in the 18th and 19th centuries which we need not take into consideration here.

Judging from the clear colophon of 1593 A.D., it would be reasonable to expect a style which would be nearer either to the sets mentioned at (b), above or certainly as (d), (e) or (f). It should also be expected that it may have something to do with the later sets mentioned at (i) and (j). Its date may even make us expect a style which may co-ordinate with the *Caurapañcāśikā* group.[19]

The present *Gīta-Govinda* belies all these expectations and takes us back visually to recollect vaguely the *Bālagopālastuti* series of the 15th century, some marginal figures of the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* and the features of the *Mahāpurāṇa* of Digambar Naya Mandir of the 15th century.[20]

In short, this is a style which appears to have been abandoned by the mid 16th century by all the *Gīta-Govinda* sets mentioned above, and by many paintings of the *Laur-candā* group.

However, it also does not exhibit the formal elements of what is generally recognized as the Jaina School, identified with the *Kalpasūtra* or the *Kālakācārya Kathā* series, found in many collections in regard to division of spatial areas or the manner of presenting the narrations. The compositional pattern is closer to the Digambar Naya Mandir *Mahāpurāṇa* and yet not identical. The movements of the dancers, however, are rather vaguely reminiscent of the *Vasantavilāsa*[21] and the *Vaiṣṇava* paintings of Gujarat. But the similarity ends here. The impression of the overcrowding of the latter is totally absent here. Some paintings of the *Bālagopālastuti*, however, have this sense of space, where figures are freely interspersed.

First, let us take the distinctive feature of the format of these paintings. As will be clear from the accompanying photographs and the initial description, each of the folios is invariably divided into a number of sections. Only two or three present a single sequence spread throughout the painting area (*e.g.* folio 24). Normally there are three sections (*e.g.* folios 4, 6, etc.) but in some there are either two (folio 5) or in a few, four or five (folios 26 and 27). The maximum, as in two illustration folios, are five. Each of these is largely a single unit where one single dramatic event is presented unlike other miniatures of the Western Indian schools where multiple scenes or groups are evident in a vertical or horizontal arrangement in mutually exclusive self contained frames. Where the actual frame is broken, the trees serve as a space divider in the Western Indian or Apabhraṁśa.[22] In the matter of garments, ornaments and the coiffure patterns, the paintings have some features common to what we see in what has been called 'Western Indian' painting, but not early Rajasthani of the 17th century.[23] Therein the *dhotī* with a sash of Kṛṣṇa suggesting a *pītāmbara* and an *aṅgavastra*. In most scenes he is seen in this except in folio 4 (section one) where he sits with a short striped *dhotī* or shorts, with a tuft or hair on top, and in folio 6, where also he wears a short, *dhotī* or shorts of a criss-cross pattern. In some the longer *dhotī* has a printed design (folio 7, 1st section) while in most others it is a plain or a striped *dhotī*. In one folio (illustration folio 9) there is yet another variant of the short *dhotī*, which in this case comes down to the knee, with sash hanging in front. This type of *dhotī* is not seen in the various *Bālagopālastuti* series or in other *Vaiṣṇava* paintings of Gujarat. In the latter they are tighter, stiffer and more formal. The parallels with some *Vaiṣṇava* paintings are close but there is no immediate identity. Rādhā, the *sakhī* and other *gopīs* and dancers are

seen in a variety of costumes which can also be grouped under three or four types. There is a long flowing plain or printed *dhotī* of Rādhā and *sakhī*, which is obviously not a skirt, despite the impression that the gathers, or the sash in front, create. Rādhā and the *sakhī* wear a tight *cholī* as upper garment, a characteristic feature of many paintings of the 'Western Indian or more specifically the Jaina School of the late 15th century but not always of the 16th century.[24] However, the *sārīs* of the present manuscript are never draped tightly around the legs and hips as is evident in the *Kaplasūtra* or *Kālakācārya Kathā*, (*i.e.* Devasāno Pāḍo or Jaunpur, or the Jamanagar *Kalpasūtra*) and others of the Jaina schools.[25] The *sārīs* here are loose and flowing and invariably reach only to the ankles. However, the *gopīs* with Kṛṣṇa or appearing solo as dance figures always wear shorts coming down only to the knee, a common feature of some marginal figures of dancers in the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* and many in the Jamanagar *Kalpasūtra*. These appear on folio 6 (section 2), folio 20 (section 2) and folio 27 (section 4) in the present manuscript. This costume of the 'shorts' of the dancers is an important clue for establising a link between the present manuscript and those others of the Jaina tradition[26] which precede it but are not contemporary. It is interesting to note that there are many continuations of the earlier style which are abandoned in other examples of the late 16th century. An interesting costume of the cowherd or a peasant or possibly Balarāma speaking to Kṛṣṇa appears in folio 28 (section 2) where we encounter a short *dhotī* and a headdress seen in the Kṛṣṇa and cowherd scenes of the *Bālagopālāstuti* series,[27] and other *Vaiṣṇava* paintings from Gujarat. Important also, are the trees, the foliage and the depiction of clouds, the flowing river and the delineation of the animals. Most vivacious are the several folios where cows are seen. An unmistakable rhythm and a sense of movement and linear perspective are communicated through the pair or groups of cows in folios 2, 6, 9, 10, 13, 22 and 26. In each of these they appear to share the joy, distress or surprise of their master. The painter uses them as supporting motifs to create the mood, although there is no mention of their existence in the text. The rhythm and the movement of the animals is achieved through an easy flow of a clearly sketched outline which is drawn with a minimum of strokes. They are impressive for their brush-work and greatly enhance the lyrical, pastoral charm of the pictorial presentation. Again, although these are reminiscent of a similar depiction in the paintings of the *Bālagopālastuti* series, the present illustrator has a more flexible (less rigid) approach. Also the animals are invariably placed in an asymmetrical pattern, unlike the neat symmetry of the row of animals in the *Bālagopālastuti* as also in other *Vaiṣṇava* paintings from Gujarat. Clouds are depicted through a minimum of curvilinear lines, which serve as an essential background to indicate the passage of time and the hour of the day. Their curvilinear patterns are in deep contrast to the static and vertical portrayal of trees. The trees and the foliage are used to demarcate different painting areas, or to clearly distinguish the scene as being indoors or out-doors. The circular, rather formalized drawing of the foliage of the trees, emphasizes the rounded contours without minute details of leaves and branches. Also by the diminish-ing size of the trees, gradually receding, a new sense of perspective is created. This is a marked distinguishing feature of the paintings. Nevertheless, the few, but sure strokes (*e.g.* folios 5, 6, 9, 12 etc.) are most effectively used. This feature of an optical perspective distinguishes the illustrations from all the others to which they are being com-

pared. Finally, there is the depiction of the Yamunā in many of these folios. In each of them it is represented through two diagonals in a large horizontal area, with wavy or semicircular patterns suggestive of waves or the rhythm of water. In a few simply drawn fish can be seen. This device is a common cliché of many painting styles of the 15th and 16th centuries and helps in establishing locale and indicating distance for the journey which the heroine or hero has to undertake. In folio 7 (section 1) Kṛṣṇa's journey is thus represented and in folios 10 and 13 Kṛṣṇa's presence on the banks of the Yamunā is similarly effectively stablished. A sense of waiting and of being separated and yet longing for Rādhā is conveyed by changing the spatial arrangement in folio 22, where a triangular space in a corner (of section 1) represent the Yamunā. The feature of representing a river as a dividing line for different moods and for establishing locale is common and can also be seen in some of the paintings of the Western Indian, Jaina and Vaiṣṇava schools of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries,[28] and also in some early Rajasthani paintings.

But all said and done, these are all the externals of the formal composition of the painting. The format, the division of spatial areas, the delineation of animal and plant life ultimately are the outer elements. While the stylistic characteristics of the paintings result from these, their dominant characteristic features are dependent more on the portrayal of the human figure, the basic drawing and the groupings. It is here that one discerns the unique features of the illustrations of the manuscript. As has been pointed out before, although it discards the stereotyped formal treatment of the Western Indian Jaina miniature paintings, there is a distinct continuity. Dr. Anand Krishna suggests that the freer and less rigid composition was conditioned by the use of paper from palm-leaf and the comparative larger surface which the painter was using.[29] While this may be true we find that in plastic terms it is also a thicker brush stroke which accounts for the impression of a comparative freer movement, less sharp and defined than the 15th and early 16th century Western Indian Jaina or Vaiṣṇava miniatures. Indeed, if some of the marginal figures of the Devasāno Pāḍo or Jamanagar *Kalpasūtra* were enlarged and deliberately made slightly out of focus they may well lead to this type of portraiture. These illustrations achieve a sense of freedom without using a large surface area. We must remember the size of the folios. The oval face, with the pointed nose, the pinched cheek and the extended eye are dominant features of these illustrations, as they are of the other *Vaiṣṇava* paintings of the Western or Gujarat school.[30] However, the squat treatment of a few of the former is replaced by a linear draughtsmanship in this manuscript suggesting an elongation rather than a dwarfing. The arms are more often than not in an extended outflowing movement always covering larger space. This gives these paintings a much greater sense of freedom, fluidity and easier flow, without a feeling of crowding so dominant in the others. The movement of the arms of the Western Indian paintings of the *Bālagopālastuti* and some others are close but not exact parallels. While there are many affinities with these paintings, this illustrated manuscript is a class by itself for its creative skill and innovative spirit. It can be distinguished from all these other paintings, as also naturally from the *Gīta-Govinda* series in the Prince of Wales Museum of the *Caurapañcāśikā* group, and from those of the Gujarat Museum Society, the National Museum and the one with the Maharaja of Kankorali. The closest parallel perhaps which comes to mind is that of the illustrated *Pañcatantra* manuscript of the 15th century in the Bharat Kala Bhavan[31]

dealt with by Dr. Anand Krishna in the report on the Seminar on some Aspects of Jaina Art and Aachitecture. Although there are many divergences in the manner of draping, costuming, headgear and coiffure, the *Gīta-Govinda* manuscript is a continuation of the trends which seem to have set in by the late 15th century of breaking the rigid frames into unequal painting areas. The extended or the farther eye is conspicuously absent in all the *Gīta-Govinda* series which are considered to precede the present manuscript (*i.e.* the Prince of Wales Museum and the National Museum). It also disappears in the N. C. Mehta, Kankorali and City Palace Museum, Jaipur folios, all roughly contemporaneous with the present manuscript. However, we see a style very close to this style in the 16th century Pārśvanātha-Padmāvatī *vastrapaṭa* of the L. D. Institute. In this *vastrapaṭa* the further eye is used to great effect with a remarkable flexibility of approach. It is without doubt a creative and not a stereotyped use of the mannerism. Since in point of time the manuscript appears after the *Pañcatantra*, the Digambar Naya Mandir *Mahāpurāṇa,* as also the *Gīta-Govinda* in the Prince of Wales Museum and the National Museum (supposedly of 1525-1570 A.D.) and precedes those of the *Gīta-Govinda* in the B. J. Institute, the N. C. Mehta *Gīta-Govinda* and the Kankorali and possibly the newly acquired *Gīta-Govinda* by the City Palace Museum, Jaipur, and the Udaipur manuscript of the early 18th century, a few deductions are self evident.

One, a largely accepted one and one can only agree with it is that what one knows as the Western Indian school or Apabhraṁśa was not necessarily restricted to Gujarat and its environs and was extended over a larger area. The other, that the many stylistic and other features of the 15th century and early 16th century, identified normally as the Jaina *Kalpasūtra* paintings and the Vaiṣṇava *Bālagopālastuti* (*i.e.* early Western Indian or Apabhraṁśa) continued well into the late 16th century, although there was a breaking of many formal conventions of spatial arrangements with a new sense of a symmetry and a freer use of space, etc. This was coeval or even later than the emergence of other styles which have been referred to by several names, such as the *Caurapañcāśikā* and *Laur Candā* group, early Rajasthani, etc., all dated so far in the second half of the 16th century. It is also clear that this style can be clearly distinguished from the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* and the *Bālagopālastuti* series because of a thicker brush stroke in contour drawing.

The colour scheme of the paintings presents a transitional stage from the rich definite red and blues of the Jaina paintings, to a completely different palette of contemporaneous Rajasthani paintings. In this respect they are very close to the *Bālagopālastuti* paintings. There is a pastel effect in many of these illustrations through the use of a dull brick red or, sometimes, a neutral background and a subtle use of deep blue, ochre and ultramarine. The halo of Kṛṣṇa and the stripes of the *dhotī* of Kṛṣṇa and those of the *sakhīs* are invariably in dull brick red, verging on a pink. In the illustrations where the background is in this red, the Yamunā is in blue with two delicate inner lines in red. Within the same folio there is often great variety such as (folio 15) where the first section has a blue background, the second a red, and the third with the *sakhī* a yellow background. An innovative spirit is evident in the use of colours and rigid conventions are being broken with ease, although there is no complete break. Many shades of the same colour are evident (folio 17), where the eye moves from a light blue to a deeper blue. The pallet is rich with colours ranging from brick red to mauve and shades of green.

And finally, attention must be drawn to three leaves of another *Gīta-Govinda* recently discovered in Rajasthan in a private collection. Although the style of writing is somewhat different, the format and the stylistic features are close parallels to the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda.* This *Gīta-Govinda* probably comprised 63 folios and each was illustrated. The illustrations of this manuscript clearly establish the fact that the style was popular in other parts of Rajasthan and that the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* was not an isolated phenomenon. The delineation of the figures, the treatment of the extended eye and the use of space are almost identical.

From the above it is clear that many tendencies so far considered as belonging only to the fifteenth century continue well into the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. They are contemporaneous with the emergence of new styles, such as the *Caurapañcāśikā* and *Laur-Candā* group. These continuities have to be seen as a separate distinct stream, rather than merely as a folk idiom.

Our analysis of this *Gīta-Govinda* in relation to other illustrated manuscripts of the same theme from different regions in different styles over a period of a hundred years or so, also reveals the near pervasive popularity of the theme in Gujarat, Rajasthan, Malwa, and Jaunpur. During the later part of the sixteenth century and seventeenth century appear many other illustrated manuscripts from Orissa and Assam. These constitute another regional variation demanding separate attention.

On the basis of the stylistic analysis of this manuscript in relation to other *Gīta-Govinda* manuscripts immediately preceding and following it, it would be possible to say that the painting style of the *Mahāpurāṇa,* the *Bālagopālastuti* and that evident in the *Pañcatantra* gradually emerged into this freer spontaneous style and flourished thereafter for nearly a hundred years. It continues to adhere to the extended eye and the linear draughtsmanship and the spatial divisions of the fifteenth century manuscripts. It is quite distinct from all that we understand by the *Caurapañcāśikā* group and the early Mewar paintings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

With the discovery of the three leaves of a near identical style it is also possible to assert that the style was fairly popular in other parts of Rajasthan. Its colophon with a definite date and provenance gives us material to re-evaluate the deduction that the Western Gujarat or Apabhraṁśa School had seen its hey-day in the fifteenth century and had been largely abandoned by the 16th century by other contemporary schools.

The manuscript is also valuable for establishing the mobility patterns of the spread of the *Gīta-Govinda* tradition in both the visual and the performing arts. A much larger independent study of this is envisaged. It continues to follow a style which was largely abandoned in other contemporary schools, particularly in respect of the extended eye and the linear draughtsmanship. It is thus quite distinct from the *Gīta-Govinda* series so far identified as the *Caurapañcāśikā* group, Western Indian, Rajasthani, etc. belonging to early 17th or late 16th centuries. Altogether, it is a welcome addition to our knowledge and may help in establishing the mobility pattern in artistic genres in India during the 15th-16th centuries.

NOTES

1 Mazmudar, M. R. 'A fifteenth century *Gīta-Govinda* manuscript with Gujarati paintings.' *Journal of the University of Bombay,* No. 12, Vol. VI, May, 1938, page 127.
He refers to the stone inscription of Maharaja Sārañgadeva Vagela of Aṇahilapaṭṭan, dated Vikram year 1348 (1291 A.D.) where a verse from the *Gīta-Govinda* is quoted. The inscription was found in early 1904 in Anavada (a village near Pāṭṭan) and is now preserved at the Baroda Museum.

2 i)Mānañka's text is published by L. D. Institute, Ahmedabad, 1965, edited by V. M. Kulkarni.
ii) *Rasikapriyā* commentary of Rāṇā Kumbhā, published with the text of the *Gīta-Govinda.* Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1904.

3 Mazmudar, M. R. *op. cit.,* pp. 129-137 and illustrations.

4 *Piyūṣa Laharī* text and translation by Pandit K. Kar. *Journnal of the Orissa Historical Research Society,* Vol. I, No. 4, March, 1947. The author calls it a *goṣṭhī* in the beginning and *rūpaka* in the end. This was enacted in the courtyard of the Jagannātha temple.

5 *Gītagopīpati* by Krishṇadatta, an imitation of the *Gīta-Govinda* in Maithili. See Catalogue of the Bihar Research Society, Vol. II, Ms. No. 38.
Other works of this nature in manuscript are in the Visva Bharati and Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. Gujarati versions are in the Gaekwad Oriental Institute, Baroda, collections. A complete listing is being done separately.

6 Hein, N. *The Miracle plays of Mathura.* Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1972, pages 17-31.

7 The set of early *Gīta-Govinda* identified first as Rajasthani and later as Jaunpur, has been described in detail by Karl J. Khandalavala, 'A *Gīta-Govinda* series in the Prince of Wales Museum', *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin,* No. 4, 1953-54, and again in *New Documents in Indian Painting,* page 85, footnote 19, where he believes that the provenance of the manuscript is not Mewar, but Uttar Pradesh and gives the dating as 1525-1570 (and not 1610 A.D. as in the Bulletin Article). The N. C. Mehta series, in the Gujarat Society Museum, some leaves published in N. C. Mehta's article on *'Gīta-Govinda'. JISOA,* Vol. XIII, 1945. Two leaves of a *Gīta-Govinda* (c. 1575 A.D.) in the National Museum. Illustrated as figs. 201 and 202 of *New Documents of Indian Painting.* A set of *Gīta-Govinda* with parallel but not identical stylistic features (to the N. C. Mehta *Gīta-Govinda*) is with the Maharaja of Kankorali, reproductions of some folios seen through the kind courtesy of Shri U. P. Shah. The Saraswati Bhandara *Gīta-Govinda* belongs to the mid 17th century and the Maharaja of Jaipur collection series possibly also to mid 17th century.

8 Parimoo, Ratan. 'Some unpublished early Rajasthani paintings.' *Lalit Kala* No. 17, pp. 1-13 and plates, particularly see editor's note at the end of page 13.

9 These leaves have been acquired in 1977 and stylistically they are close to the Jodhpur Library Daśamskandha.

10 Mazmudar, M. R. 'A 15th century *Gīta-Govinda,' Journal of the University of Bombay,* Vol. X, 1941, pp. 119-132. See Khandalavala, Karl. 'Leaves from Rajasthan', *Marg,* Vol. IV, No. 3, 1960, and figs. 8 & 9.

11 See footnote 7 above.

12 Karl Khandalavala & Moti Chandra, *New Documents Indian Painting,* figs. 201 and 202. They place it c. 1575 A.D.

13 See footnote 7 above. Also N. C. Metha's article in *Nehru Abhinandan Granth* and illustrations and Khandalavala, Karl. 'Leaves from Rajasthan', *op. cit.*

14 Unpublished, a separate monograph on this is envisaged.

15 Unpublished, nearly 200 folios. A detailed study of this is being brought out separately.

16 Unpublished but examined.

17 Unpublished. A full study of this being published in the forthcoming issue of *JISOA.* Vatsyayan, Kapila. Illustrated manuscript of the *Gīta-Govinda* from Mewar, *JISOA,* Moti Chandra Comemoration Volume.

18 Moti Chandra, 'Mewar Paintings', Lalit Kala Akademi, Pl. VI.

19 *New Documents in Indian Painting,* pp. 54-55, and colour Pl. 10 and article on 'An illustrated Avadhi MS of Laur-chandā' by Rai Krishnadasa, *Lalit Kala* Nos. 1-2, March 1956, pp. 61-62.
While the *Laur Chanda* and the present manuscript share the common feature of the impression of a 'farther eye' there is little else in common. In the present manuscript the 'farther eye' is integral to the face and it is nearer a three fourths profile. The heavy bust and an attenuated narrow waist of the Bharat Kala Bhavan *Laur Chandā* are absent here, and so is the charactrstic profile of the series of paintings mentioned on footnote 7 above, and the *Caurapañcāśikā* of the N. C. Mehta collection, and the National Museum collection. All these belong to what has been called the Kulhadar group by Karl Khandalavala and are contemporary.

20 Moti Chandra, 'Mahapurana of Digambar Naya Mandir', *Lalit Kala,* No. 5, 1959, pages 68-80, specially the two female figures in fig. 7.

21 *Vasanta Vilāsa,* edited by Norman Brown, Connecticut, 1962, Pl. fig. 10, page 164, and page 168, pl. 7, fig. 14.

22 Compare with illustrations of the *Gīta-Govinda* series in the Prince of Wales Museum and the Kankorali collection and also with the several *Bālagopālastuti* series illustrated in M. R. Mazmudar's article. 'The Gujarati School of Painting and some newly Discovered Vaiṣṇava Miniature' *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art,* Vol. X, 1942, pp. 1-32, plates 7 and 9, where tree divide the spatial area. Our manuscript is closer to the Gujarati Vaiṣṇava paintings in this respect but treatment is different.

In the Digamber Naya Mandir *Mahāpurāṇa* trees are used for encasing figures in some folios (see *Lalit Kala* No. 5, *op. cit.* fig. 6).

[3] Mazmudar, M. R. *Bālagopālastuti Manuscripts. Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XVI, No. 31, July, 1947, pp. 32-60, particularly plates facing page 56. Also compare with costumes in the *Gīta-Govinda* in the National Museum (of possibly 1575) reproduced colour plate 17 and 18 in *New Documents in Indian Paintings* and the other *Gīta-Govinda* series mentioned in footnote 7 above. The costumes of our manuscript are closer to but not identical with the *Bālagopālastuti;* nor are they similar to the National Museum folios of *Gīta-Govinda.*

[4] See *Colī* patterns of some marginal figures of the *Kalpasutra* figures from Devasāno Pāḍo (1475), particularly these of two top figures reproduced as fig. 91 in *New Documents in Indian Painting.* In contrast see those of the Prince of Wales Museum *Gīta-Govinda* and other late 16th century examples.

[5] The tightly draped *sārī* is evident in almost all the Indian type marginal figures of the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* and other *Kalpasūtra* as also the Gujarati Vaiṣṇava paintings. See the costume of dancers in the *Kalpasūtra* (painted at Jaunpur, Western Indian and Gujarat School dated 1465 A.D. *New Documents in Indian Painting*, Pl. 4) and Moti Chandra's *Western Indian Painting*, fig. 138 and a different costume of the dancers in *Laghu Saṃgrahaṇī sūtra* 1583 A.D. (reproduced as Pls. VIII in Moti Chandra and Shah Umakant P. *New Documents of Jaina Painting*, Sri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya Publication) and *Sārī* draping patterns seen in the illustrations of Mazmudar's article on *Bālagopālastuti* (*op. cit.*) as also his article on Vaiṣṇava Gujarati Paintings. There is little in common between any of these and the *Sārī* draping patterns of the present manuscript. A close parallel in both costuming and some stylistic features is a figure from a folio of the *Mahāpurāṇa* in Digambar Naya Mandir (late 15th century) illustrated as fig. 98 in *New Documents of Indian Painting.* The lady wears a skirt in this illustration and not a draped *dhotī* as in our manuscript. The skirt otherwise appears much later as has been pointed out by all these authors; or the costumes of the women in fig. 7 of Moti Chandra's article on the Digambar Naya Mandir *Mahāpurāna, Lalit Kala,* No. 5, 1959.

[26] While there are several examples of this, draw attention to only few here.
Moti Chandra, 'Jaina Miniatures Painting from Western India', fig. 139 and 141.
See *New Documents in Indian Painting*, figs. 56 and pairs of dancers in figs. 89 90. Also see Moti Chandra *'Costumes, Textiles and Coiffures in Ancient and Medieval India'*, Oriental Publishers, Delhi, 1973. Line drawing No. 37 on page VIII. The particular costume goes into oblivion in later Jaina painting of the 16th and 17th centuries. See figs. 8 and 9 of Khazanchi collection Catalogue of Sarasvatī Paṭa. For contrast see Shah, U. P. and Moti Chandra: *New Documents in Jaina Painting*, fig. 46 from *Laghu Saṃgrahaṇī Sūtra* dated 1583 A.D. where a radical change takes place.

[27] Mazmudar, M. R., 'Illustrated Mss of Bilvamaṅgala's *Bālagopālastuti.' Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XVI, Part I, 1947-48, Pl. VIII, on page 57.

[28] *New Documents of Indian Painting.* Pl. 18(b) *Mahāpurāṇa* painted at Palam in Delhi, dated 1540, where also a stretch of river spreads across the painting in a diagonal, and figs. 5 and 6 of Ratan Parimoo's article (*op. cit.*). In the latter, although the treatment is diagonal, it is more elaborate with many intercepting curves. Also see Anand Krishan's article on 'Pañcantantra Paintings' in *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, fig. 11 (fig. 19) where too the motif is repeated. In the Digambar Naya Mandir the river is a horizontal area and the lake a circular area (see Moti Chandra article on *Mahāpurāṇa. Lalit Kala* No. 5, 1959, figs. 4 and 8).

[29] Ananda Krishna, 'A Pañcatantra Manuscript'. *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture.* L. D. Institute, Armedabad, pp. 405-413.

[30] Mazmudar, M. R. Articles on *Bālagopālastuti* and Vaiṣṇava Miniatures, *op. cit.* The overcrowding is a compositional trait of all these. The present *Gīta-Govinda* is remarkable for the feeling of airy spaciousness it communicates through a new use of space and perspective. Inspite of sections, it breaks the boundary of fragments. A similar use of space, however, is evident in the *Bālagopālastuti* series in the Prince of Wales Museum (see Pl. VIII of Moti Chandra *'Studies in Early Indian Painting'*, Asia Publishing House, 1975.

[31] Anand Krishna 'Pañcatantra Manuscript', *Some Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture* (*op. cit.*), pp. 405-413, figs. 1-15. (reproduced here figs. 15-20).

THE MANUSCRIPT TEXT AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Text folio No. 1

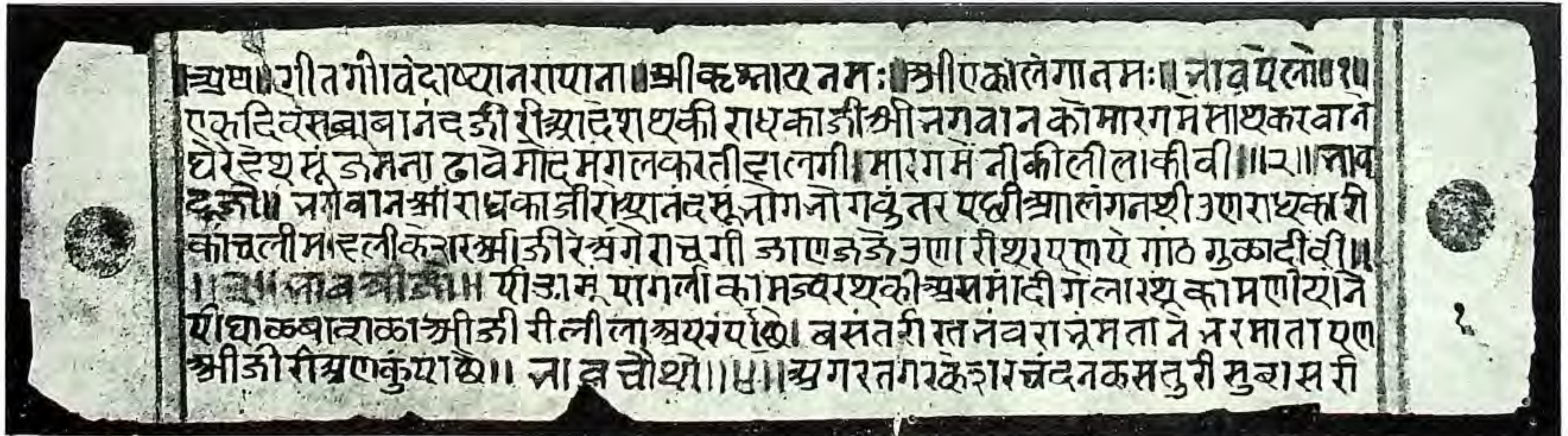
The first line pays obeisance to Kṛṣṇa and to Ekaliṅga, and describes the work as letters based on the *Gīta-Govinda.* Then begins the narration from line 2 onwards:

Bhāva 1 (*bhāvas* are different sections or sentences and are called so in the manuscript).

One day Rādhā Jī at the behest of Bābā Nanda escorted Śrī Bhagavān (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa). On the way, on the banks of the Yamunā, began the *āmoda-pramoda* (the loving dalliance called *moda-maṅgala* here) and the two were involved in a lovely *līlā.*

Bhāva 2 After Śrī Bhagavān had satiated himself, he embraced Śrī Rādhā (*āliṅgana*): the passionate love-play filled Rādhā with the divine aroma of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's being. He is addressed as Śrī Jī throughout the work.

Bhāva 3 begins with an aboration of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and speaks of him as the giver of infinite joy to the disabled, the sick and others, including the beautiful maidens. Even the murmuring bees rejoice at the mention of his name. While the text of this folio describes the beginning of the journey of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and speaks of Nanda's order as in the verses of the *Gīta-Govinda,* there is no reference here either to the overcast sky or to the poet Jayadeva, as in the original *Gīta-Govinda,* nor is there a reference to the Daśāvatara theme





The text also reverses the order of the Śritakamalā verses; however, the echoes of the *Gīta-Govinda* are clear.

Illustration folio numbered as 2, which follows the text, is clearly divided into two horizontal areas. The upper register depicts the *daśāvatāras* in small rectangular squares; the lower shows Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in an embrace with a cow on either side. The *daśāvatāra* panel begins with a figure of Gaṇeśa and is followed by a four armed *Matsya, Kūrma, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Buddha, Varāha, Kṛṣṇa* and *Kalki,* in that order. It is obvious that the whole of the first *sarga* has been compressed together both in the text and the illustration. While the text makes no mention of the *daśāvatāra* the pictorial depiction quite clearly follows the *Gīta-Govinda* verses, although it does not follow the order of the incarnations strictly. The figures of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are placed against a dark blue background which separates them out from the rest of the painting surface. This background alone suggests the overcast sky.

Text folio 2

Bhava's 4 and 5 are a vivid description of Kṛṣṇa singing and dancing with the Gopīs. The Gopīs are described in rich sensuous imagery as in the corresponding portions of the *Gīta Govinda.* There are description here of how Kṛṣṇa binds the Gopīs in his love, how his flute enchants them, and how they dance with *kānsyatāla* and *hastatāla.* Both Bhāvas 4 and 5 end with the praise of this Kṛṣṇa, the beloved of the Gopīs and declare that all living beings seek his protection. The significant word 'Ghūmar' occurs in the context of Kṛṣṇa's dance with the Gopīs. These *bhāvas* are based on the verses of the *Sarga I, prabandha 3* beginning *lalita-lavaṅga-latā,* etc.

Illustration folios 3 and 4 capture the spirit of the text through a series of paintings, each depicting a music and dance scene. Both folios 3 and 4 are divided into a number of vertical sections. Section 1 of folio 3 beings with Kṛṣṇa and a Gopī or possibly Rādhā and is followed by a central

panel only of a Gopī in a dance movement. Her feet are in *kuñcita* and the open *ardhamaṇḍalī* is evident. In the third section of folio 3, there is a drummer with a *mṛdaṅga* and another lady dancer, this time in an *ūrdhvajānu* movement of the lower limbs. One arm is extended in a relaxed *dolā-hasta*, the other is held above the head in a partial *uromaṇḍala hasta*. In folio 4, the theme is developed further, again by dividing the area into three panels. In the first a Gopī pours water on Kṛṣṇa obviously suggesting the playing of *Holī*. In the second Kṛṣṇa is seen surrounded by the Gopīs in a movement of the dance where an interlocked *piṇḍībandha* is evident. In the third he sits alone playing a flute. The illustration communicates the mood of spring where Kṛṣṇa dances with several Gopīs, without making the painting a mere pictorial representation of the verbal content. Each section is a self-contained unit through the clearly defined lines as also the background colour. Panel I of folio 4 is set against a dull ochre, followed by a dark blue in the second, and the third against a blue and dull pink. The juxtaposition of the blue and pink is a clever device, both as pictorial harmony and to suggest passage of time.

Text folios 3 and 4

Bhāvas 6 and 7 are a further description of Kṛṣṇa with the Gopīs in spring time. His saffron orange garments and his ear ornaments, his face and teeth are all vividly described. His face is red with colour, his hair flutters like a Nāga. The Gopīs sing and dance around him, others come close and whisper, yet others hold him, some embrace him and others wait eagerly for the music of his flute. He responds warmly teases some and draws others close. These sections are a fairly faithful rendering of the verses of *Sarga I, prabandha 4* beginning *candana-carcita*.

Text folio 5

Bhāvas 8 and 9 continue the description of the dance with the





Gopīs and speaks of Rādhā's watching the dance and her feeling of dejection. The Rāsa of Vṛndāvana, much in the style of the *Śrīmad Bhāgavata,* is described here, although it is also obvious that these portions also rest heavily on Jayadeva's verses of the first Sarga, *prabandha* 3 and *prabandha* 4.

Illustration folio 5 The area of the painting is divided into two sections. In one Rādhā is seen sitting solitary, dejected and speaking not to a *sakhī,* but to a parrot. In the second section Kṛṣṇa sits alone, accompanied by a parrot on one side and the peacock on the other. Besides, the vertical lines; the stylized trees, differentiate one scene from the other. The folio is in deep contrast to the two preceding it. The separation of the two is beautifully captured. While the red of the foreground provides a continuity between the two sections, the ochre background of the section with the peacock and the light blue of Rādhā's section are in deep contrast. The appearance of the parrot in both the sections provides the continuity in the folio.

Text folio 6

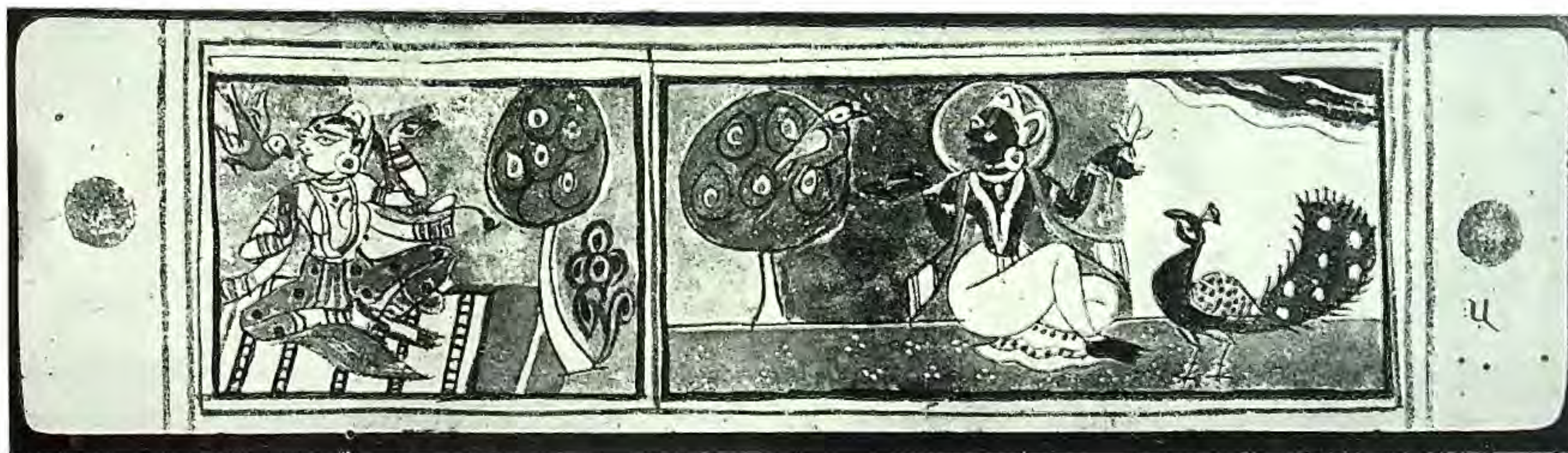
Bhāva 10 describes the intense longing of Rādhā for Kṛṣṇa. She addresses the *sakhī* and calls her a cruel friend, who can find no way of ensuring a meeting with Kṛṣṇa. She promises gratitude for life if the *sakhī* will bring her Lord to her. The description makes full use of the conventional conceits of Indian poetry for longing and of an impassioned fevered physical state. The heated torment of the expectation can be cooled says she only by a meeting with Kṛṣṇa.

Text folios 7 and 8

In *Bhāva 11* the scene shifts. Now it is not Rādhā, but the lonely journey of Śrī Hari along the Yamunā. There is a poignant description of the long and arduous journey which resulted in blistered feet. Kṛṣṇa crosses many mountains and woods and calls aloud for Rādhā. But Rādhā is not to be found. By and by, on the banks of the Yamunā he sees

a *sakhī* drying her garments. He asks her the whereabouts of Rādhā. The *sakhī* offers to take him to his beloved Rādhā. Śrī Hari begins to walk eagerly with the *sakhī* but his weary fevered body cannot keep pace with her. Ultimately the *sakhī* offers to bring Rādhā to him. The eager Kṛṣṇa is impatient, he can endure the separation no longer and insists on accompanying the *sakhī* notwithstanding his anxious fatigued state. Finally, they arrive and see Rādhā. Rādhā sits lonely and desolate. The long wait, the anxious pining, gives way to a mad rage at the sight of Kṛṣṇa. Soon Rādhā swoons and is tenderly revived to consciousness by the healing touch of Śrī Jī. The lovers fall into each other's arms, unmindful of the presence of the *sakhī*. Rādhā was soothed, says the writer, like the Himalayas through this love play (*līlā-krīḍā*). This is vaguely based on Sarga III, but there are significant departures.

Illustration folios 6 and 7 do not precisely follow this sequence of events. Folio 5 had shown the two characters separately each in a state of longing. Folio 6 is divided into three sections. In the first Kṛṣṇa is touching the forehead of Rādhā seated, against the background of a hill and a tree; in the second he is seen with a *sakhī* in a playful mood, and the third shows a cow. Neither of these sections appears to illustrate the text except the first section of folio 6, where Kṛṣṇa is perhaps winning Rādhā over However, the long and arduous journey of Kṛṣṇa is affectively portrayed in folio 7, which is divided into two unequal sections. In the first horizontal panel, Kṛṣṇa is seen standing solitary and expectantly in one corner. The rest of the painting surface is covered with the Yamunā and the woods. All this is suggested through a flowing diagonal of the Yamunā and many trees and plants diminishing in space as they recede. The painter achieves a great sense of linear perspective and of space in a limited frame. Pictorially this treatment of space with large blank sections is freer, and not often seen





in other paintings of the fifteenth century. The use of a diagonal for flowing rivers is, however, a common convention. The intensity of the verbal picture is complemented by the visual impression of a Kṛṣṇa waiting and taking a long, long journey. The second panel of folio 7 shows two *sakhīs* in animated conversation and nothing more. Besides, the lines of the diagonal Yamunā, and the verticals of the stylised trees, the different colours of the background of each of the sections suggests a passage of time. The folio manifests a perfect mastery of the painter over his medium, where he is





breaking rigid conventions. The costume and the coiffure of the *sakhīs* is significant. It recalls the coiffure patterns of some marginal figures of the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* and the *Sarasvatī paṭa* of the Khazanchi collection.

Illustration folio 8 is again divided into three sections. In the largest of these Kṛṣṇa is seen in a pensive mood lying on a couch. It is obviously an indoor scene without an exact co-ordination with the text, suggesting the end of a long and painful journey. Nevertheless, the state of expectant waiting is conveyed, both through his posture and the expression of his face. In the second section, Rādhā is being persuaded to meet Kṛṣṇa and there is a little flutter and agitation. In the third, there is the gaze of a surprised *sakhī*. The pictorial image captures a general mood rather than a precise visualisation in line and colour of the text.

Illustration folio 9 takes us into the open air again. In the first section, Kṛṣṇa is seen sitting accepting a message or a gift from the *sakhī*. In the second section of the folio, he plays the flute in a dance pose and is accompanied by two entranced cows, almost as if responding to the melody of his flute. Space is clearly differentiated through the use of a different background colour in each of the sections.

Text folios 9, 10 and 11

Bhāvas 12 and 13 take us back to the *sakhī*'s entreating Kṛṣṇa addressed as Mohan. She describes the love-lorn state of Rādhā, whom neither sun nor shadow pleases. She is distraught and beside herself with longing. The moon beams are the piercing arrows of Kāma and the notes of the *kokil* intensify her anguish. 'Rādhā', says the *sakhī*, 'paints and repaints him and she has care for neither dress nor coiffure. She is pale and emaciated with the craving and the waiting. Her ear-ornaments are like stinging snakes, the beads of her necklace are like the heavy weight of mountains on her breast. All her garments and ornaments are a burden. She

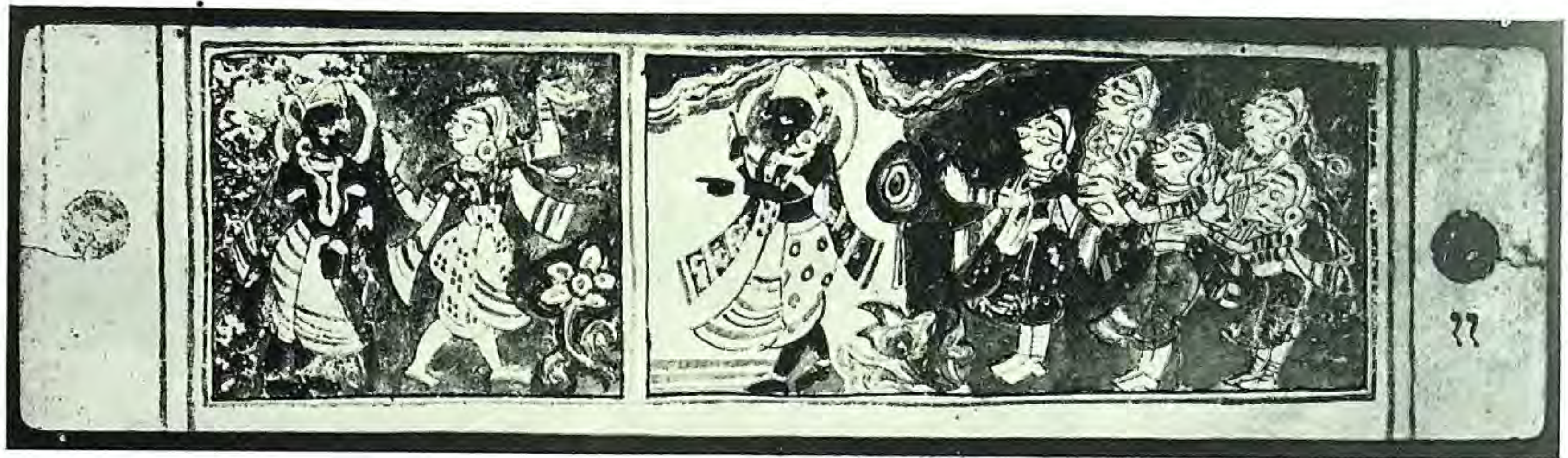


can no longer bear the anguish, for it is Śrī Kṛṣṇa she wants. She counts the stars at night, is startled by the slightest sound, and it is the name of Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa alone which she repeats. She likes neither heat nor cold, and is beside herself with the pain of her desire. This *bhāva* is a close prose-rendering of *Sarga IV prabandha 9.*

Text folio 12

Bhāva 14 continues the entreaties of the *sakhī* through a





series of similies, one piled up on the other where all the motifs and conventions of medieval poetry are invoked in a simple, but effective prose style. The metaphors and the affectations are drawn from many sources and not from the *Gīta-Govinda* alone. Although echoes of the latter are clear in the reference to the *kokil pañcama rāga*, etc., the *bhāva* is not a literal prose rendering of corresponding verses.

Illustration folio 10 portrays Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in two sections. In the first she is offering *pūjā* to something which has the appearance of a *Śiva-liṅga*. In the second, Kṛṣṇa is seen again with two cows, against the background of mountains and hills, along the Yamunā. But this time he is seen with a plough, not with a flute.

Illustration folio 11 shows a *sakhī* and Kṛṣṇa together, the former obviously persuading him to meet Rādhā (in one section) and Kṛṣṇa and a number of *sakhīs* in the second. In the latter, there is an interesting detail of the *sakhī's* carrying another woman on their shoulders, either to suggest a real person or to show a picture of Rādhā to Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa looks away in an opposite direction. The colour scheme of each section is different.

Text folio 13

Bhāva part 14 and 15 *Bhāva* 14 continues with the *sakhī's* description of Rādhā and her weakened physical state. She is like the setting sun, her gait is unsteady and she has forgotten to care for herself. The *sakhī* scolds Kṛṣṇa for his cruelty towards his beloved and again repeats her pleadings.

Illustration folio 12 is divided into three sections. In the first the *sakhī* points towards a tree possibly suggesting her approaching Kṛṣṇa. In the second, Rādhā is seen lying on a couch, in a despondent state and the third depicts a domestic scene of a woman with a grinding stone. While none of the intensity of the many similies and the metaphors



of the verbal descriptions are pictorially captured, there is enough in sections one and two of the folio to convey the feeling of intense yearning and pining. The third section possibly depicts the *sakhī's* efforts to soothe Rādhā by the use of sandle paste.

Text folios 14 and 15

Bhāvas 16 and 17 describe a conversation between Rādhā and the *sakhī*. This time the *sakhī* addresses Rādhā and tells her that Kṛṣṇa, her eternal companion of many lives, is standing





in front of her and soon her hopes of union with him, will be fulfilled. But Rādhā in her anger and her pride will not relent. The *sakhī* implores her now, as she had entreated Kṛṣṇa, a moment ago.

Illustration folios 13 and 14 The first section of folio 13 depicts a Bālagopāla tending a cow on the banks of the Yamunā against the background of hills and mountains. In the second, Rādhā stands in a *svastika* pose grasping a tree with one hand and holding a garland in the other. A small shrine is seen in the background. There is the suggestion of the banks of the Yamunā in one corner and hills in the background. In the last section, only a group of cattle is shown. Except for the second section, the pictorial scene has little relationship with the loaded imagery of the text. The compositional pattern of the folio is arranged with a sense of design, through the repetitive motif of the Yamunā in each of the sections. Pink and yellow constitute the background. The diagonal in a corner of section two of folio 13 suggesting the Yamunā is beautifully balanced with curves in sections one and three placed in opposing movements. Folio 14, however, captures the powerful drama of the lovers waiting but each reluctant to give up his or her pride. The panel is divided into four sections. In the first two, each turns away from the other. The opposed movement and the turning away communicate a sense of tension. In the third, Kṛṣṇa sits lonely and bewildered with one hand on the ground and the other supporting his chin. In the fourth, Rādhā sits forlorn, this time facing Kṛṣṇa, both equally expectant but unable to relent. Each conveys a different mood in a quick but balanced sequence of events.

Text folio 16

Bhāva 17 (continued) describes the weary *sakhī,* who has been unable to persuade either Rādhā or Kṛṣṇa to break the silence. Kṛṣṇa then takes the initiative and begins to address Rādhā.



He asks her pardon for any wrong he may have done and reminds her that there is no defeat or victory between them. Gradually Rādhā gives in and takes him in her arms. The *sakhī* is happy, moves away and lets the lovers experience in one moment of love, the melting away of the yearning of years. This is a clear departure from the *Gīta-Govinda*.

Illustration folio 15 The panel is divided into three sections. In the first Kṛṣṇa is approaching Rādhā who appears to be walking away and yet turning around to listen to him. In the second, she stands alone and pours water, and in the third the *sakhī* holds a screen suggesting her own walking away and perhaps very delicately suggesting the meeting of the lovers. This could depict the earlier reference to the *sakhī* drying her garments, but this is unlikely. The emotions of the words are illustrated through a pictorial device where the artist is obviously deviating from the verbal imagery to create in pictorial terms the suggestion of a mood which he wishes to portray. The passage of time is beautifully conveyed through a gradual darkening of the horizon and the emergence of the moon.

Text folio 16

Bhāvas 17 and 18 describe the preparation for the union in stages. Rādhā prepares for the union, closes the door behind her, arranges the bed, and adorns herself after a ritual bath. Then she addresses Hari, the all-knowing one and bows to him. Kṛṣṇa is pleased, takes her in his arms and the love-play begins.

Illustration folio 16 and part of 17 illustrate this section through three panels of folio 16 and one of folio 17. In the first section of folio 16 Rādhā is seen arranging the bed excitedly, in the second, bathing and in the third, waiting under a tree. In the first section of the next folios, the two are seen together in an embrace. The scene is laid part indoors, and part outdoors.



Text folio 17

This folio from *Bhāva 19* onwards takes us back to the scene of the separation of the lovers. Kṛṣṇa has again moved back to the woods. *Bhāva* 19 in folio 17 describes Kṛṣṇa on the banks of the Yamunā reminiscing on the tryst with Rādhā. At one place he halts as if unable to walk. Kṛṣṇa then admits that his thoughts were far away with his beloved Rādhā and in his mind's eye he saw the beautiful eyes of Rādhā. He longs to go back to her and can contain himself



no longer.

Text folios 18 and 19

Bhāva 20 is another conversation of the *sakhī* and Rādhā. The former tells Rādhā of the anxiety and the anguish of Kṛṣṇa. The *sakhī* says that it is impossible for her to describe his state and Rādhā must agree to meet him. She advises Rādhā that salvation lies only in Rādhā's meeting Kṛṣṇa. Rādhā's reply is full of complaints and resentment. Kṛṣṇa, according to her, does not care for her, and he ran away in the early hours of dawn. She imagines he plays and dances with others, is oblivous that Rādhā seeks him alone, longs for him every minute. 'I have', says Rādhā 'tested him this time enough. He ran away before dawn.

Text folios 20 and 21

Bhāvas 21, 22 and 23 continue with the *sakhīs* advising and attempting to persuade Rādhā to meet Kṛṣṇa. Once she rebukes her for being narrow-minded, at another time she tells her that it does not behove one like her to behave thus when he anxiously waits for her. She compares Rādhā to the gardener of the flower-bed and says, how can the garden flower if its keeper is angry. She speaks of her fading away without his love, and tells her how onlookers can really discern that she too pines and yearns, and wastes away without him. The *sakhī* asks Rādhā to give up her pride and meet him eye to eye, lip to lip. The *sakhī* once again loads her narration with many similies and metaphors, signs and symbols of the conventional motifs of love and asks her to merge with her Lord as the fish immerse themselves in water. She reminds Rādhā that the night is passing and she must not delay. Finally she entreats Rādhā to accompany her.

Illustration folios 17, 18 and 19 portray these emotions, not by following a line sequence but generally depicting the essence of this mood. In two sections of folio 17, there are



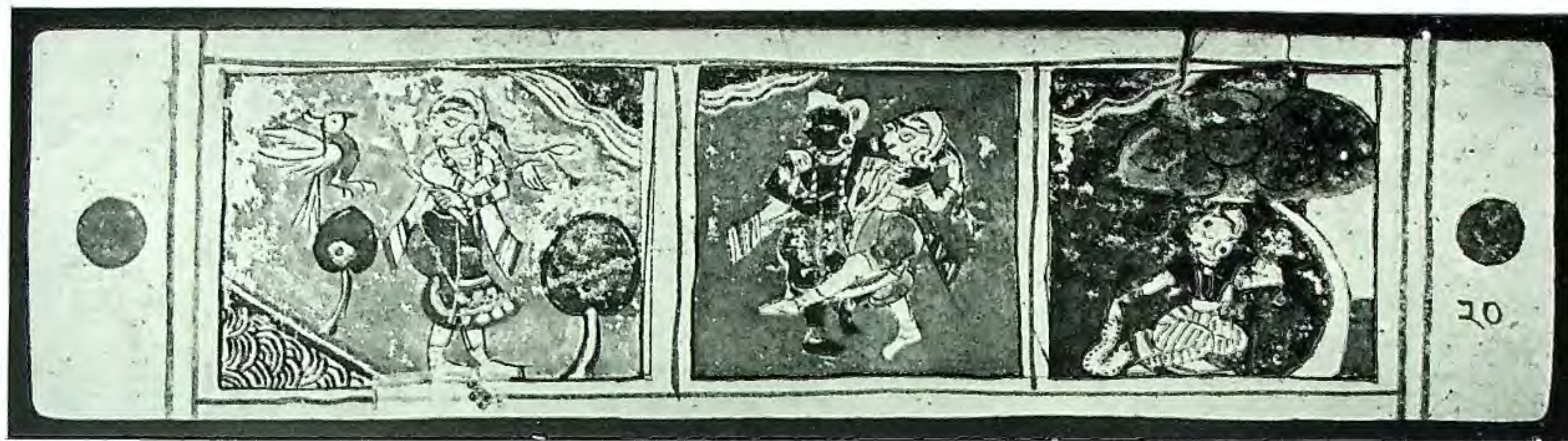


two separate figures, each going his and her way. Kṛṣṇa is moving away towards the Yamunā, while the *sakhī* watches and beckons him. In folios 18 and 19 Rādhā is seen sitting under a tree in utter loneliness in the first section of both folios. She pines and waits but is obviously in no mood to listen to the *sakhī*. In section two of folio 18, a *sakhī* is seen sporting with Kṛṣṇa. This possibly portrays Rādhā's fears of Kṛṣṇa's sporting with those others. In section 2 of folio 19 the *sakhī* is apparently trying to persuade Kṛṣṇa to go to Rādhā. She is narrating Rādhā's state to him. Section 3 of folio 19 shows two stylised trees, without any human figures, suggesting a pause or an impasse in this quarrel of the divine lovers. The trees denote a silence — through their static aloofness. This in deep contrast to the mood of despair of Rādhā, and the anxious conversation of Kṛṣṇa and the *sakhī*. With a minimum use of line and changes in the portrayal of eyebrows and eyes and a variety of sitting postures, the artist successfully captures the drama of the emotions of the three characters.

Illustration folio 20 continues in the same strain with a complaining Rādhā although still meditating upon Kṛṣṇa and his dalliance with other woman. The first section of the folio, possible portrays Rādhā again imagining Kṛṣṇa with the other *gopīs*. In the third also Rādhā sits lonely and waiting. In between Kṛṣṇa is seen with another *sakhī* in an animated movement of the dance. The vivacious pose, the movement of the pull in the central panel are counterpoised against the static but eloquent pose of Rādhā (third section) sitting in darkness, suggested by the appearance of a snake in the foreground. Rādhā is imagining Kṛṣṇa's love-play with other women. The echoes of the *Gīta-Govinda* are many, both in the text and the illustration.

Text folio 22

Bhāva 24 describes the *sakhī* again pleading with Rādhā. She tells Rādhā that the moment of her meeting Kṛṣṇa is fast approaching. She says that Kṛṣṇa can no longer play the flute



in rhythm, because his thoughts are constantly with her. Rādhā must not waste time, the moment draws near and she must prepare herself for the meeting.

Illustration folio 21 shows the two (Rādhā and the *sakhī* in conversation) in two sections and Kṛṣṇa sitting alone and huddled up under a tree in the third. The expanse of space given to the *sakhīs* is balanced with the small secluded place given to Kṛṣṇa in a limited frame. The unequal division of the sections emphasizes their longing for one another but





in different moods. The passage of time is indicated by changing the colour of the background.

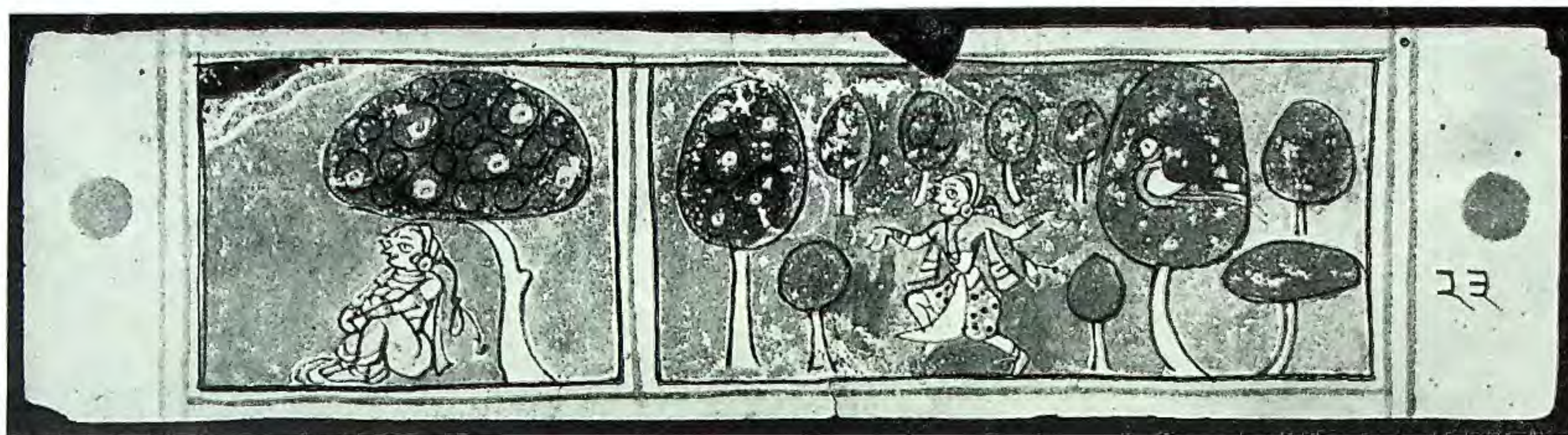
Illustration folio 22 develops on the same theme. In one section, Kṛṣṇa is playing on the flute sitting on the banks of the Yamunā; in the other, he is seen in conversation with the *sakhī* who appears to be telling him of Rādhā's state. Cows accompany Kṛṣṇa. Receding trees and a diagonal Yamunā appear in the first section, with a light blue and red background. Flat background patches of pink and yellow cover the surface of the other two.

Text folios 22 and 23

Bhāvas 25, 26, 27 and 28 describe the *sakhī* telling Kṛṣṇa of the frail condition of Rādhā. 'Rādhā, says the *sakhī*, 'is distraught and beside herself with the anguish of separation. In desperation she dresses in yellow and wears peacock feathers, in the make-believe that she is you. Indeed the *sakhī* uses the word 'mad' (*pāgala*). This time the *sakhī* requests Kṛṣṇa to go and quench her thirst. Rādhā, she tells him, can think of none else but him. 'Rādhā, says the *sakhī*, 'sometimes laughs, sometimes weeps and is at other times immobile and stiff like a staff.' This *bhāva* also poignantly captures the mood of the twelfth *prabandha*.

Rādhā continues her lament in *bhāva* 27 and says that although she waited all night long under the *kadamba* tree, there was no sign of Kṛṣṇa. She had waited amongst the forest reeds as the *sakhī* advised, but it all came to naught. She is certain (*bhāva 28*) that Kṛṣṇa without doubt is revelling with others and does not care for her. This is a close rendering of the thirteenth *prabandha*, and parts of the fourteenth. Through simple prose intense anguish is expressed.

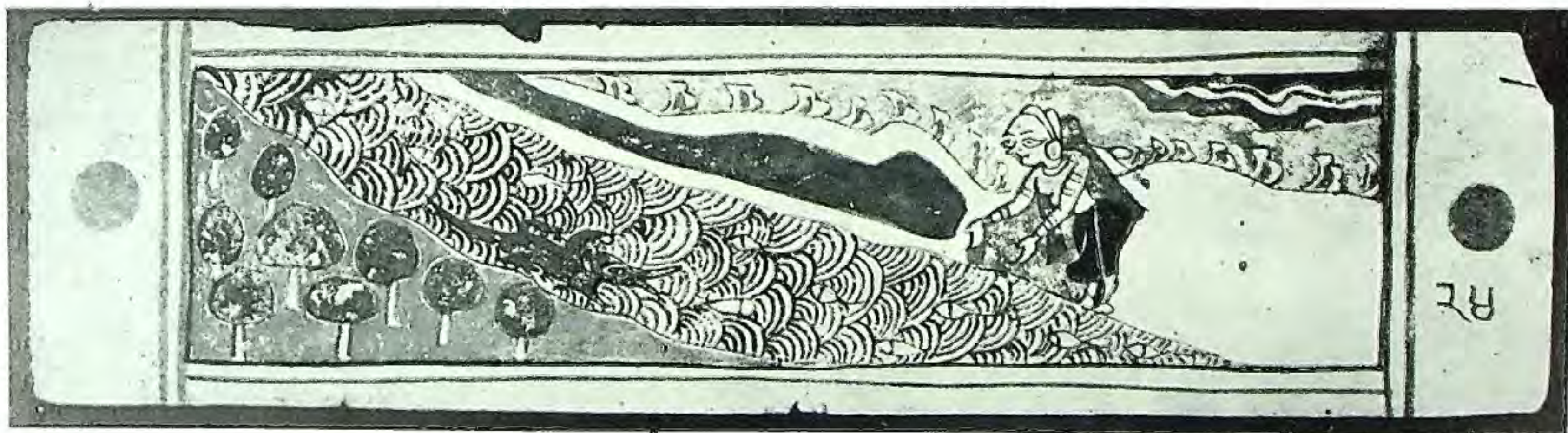
Illustration folio 23 portrays this state of Rādhā in both the sections. In one, she is sitting with folded knees under the *kadamba* tree and in the other she is seen running in a



perturbed state surrounded by many trees and plants. The anxiety and the waiting are poignantly portrayed. The craving and the loneliness are all captured through the use of corner spaces, in the first and through a sense of agitated movement in the other.

Text folio 24

Bhāvā 29 describes Rādhā's suspicions as she imagines Kṛṣṇa surrounded by innumberable maidens. She can be neither patient nor tolerant towards the one such as he. 'Why did



he, asks she, desert me, when we had promised to meet.

In Bhāvas 30 and 31 Rādhā addresses the Yamunā and asks the river why its waters have also receded and cannot give her refuge and drown her. She cries out to the wind (*pavana*) and asks why it does not tear her heart out. In Bhāva 31 the *sakhī* advises Rādhā and entreats her to give up anger and to meet Kṛṣṇa. The *sakhī* uses all her persuasive powers lest they appear to be of no avail. Bhāvas 30 and 31 are a faithful prose translation of some verses of the sixteenth *prabandha*.

Illustration folio 24 shows a lonely Rādhā on the banks of the Yamunā, obviously conveying the sense of the imagery of the last part of Bhāva 30. Rādhā's state is conveyed through the expanse of the Yamunā which she is addressing. The diagonal of the Yamunā separates her from the woods which can be seen in an opposite corner. The folio is one continuous panel and not broken up into compartments.

Text folio 25

Bhāvas 32 and 33 The scene changes radically. After a sentence of praise for Kṛṣṇa, it speaks of Kṛṣṇa's addressing Rādhā in endearing terms, asking her pardon. He will suffer any punishment, she will deem fit for him. He apologises for his forgetfulness, and offers all he can. He offers to paint in vermilion (*lac*) her feet, do whatever she will want him to do, and will let her do what she will to him. He describes the beauty of her hair, brow and lips, and sings praise of her incomparable beauty full of the sixteen types of adornment (*solah Śṛṅgāra*).

Illustration folio 25 is divided into three sections. In the first Kṛṣṇa is seen painting her feet, and in the second holding her close to him and in the third Rādhā is adorning herself. The humility with which he sits in the first section is replaced by the passionate embrace in which he holds Rādhā in the second section.



Text folio 26

Bhāvas 34 and 35 In the first there is a passionate description of Rādhā. The writer loads it with metaphors and similies, which constitute the usual conceits of medieval poetry. Naturally, her eyes are more beautiful than lotus petals, her waist slimmer than a lion's, her hips and thighs more beautiful than an elephant's, etc. He attributes his great joy to the good deeds which he perhaps did in previous births. The scene changes in *Bhāva 35* for here the *sakhī* once again begins to address Rādhā as a golden creeper and asks her to delay no longer if she wishes to hear Kṛṣṇa singing her praise. She tells her that the *avatāra* of *Kāmadeva* (*i.e* Kṛṣṇa) looks for her and she must welcome him.

Text folio 27

Bhāvas 36 and 37 The *sakhī* continues in the same strain. She tells Rādhā that Kṛṣṇa has followed the sound of her ankle bells and has sent her to look for Rādhā. Kṛṣṇa, she tells Rādhā, repeats her name without pause and she must no longer tarry. In *Bhāva 37* the *sakhī* expresses her surprise at Rādhā's lack of response. How can Rādhā not receive the visitor at her door? Why doesn't passion rise in her? She fails to understand.

Illustration folios 26 and 27 In folio 26 here is a pastoral scene. In one corner a few cows graze, with an expression of innocent wonder. In a diagonally opposite corner the *sakhī* and Kṛṣṇa are in conversation. In the second section, in a small rectangular frame, sits Rādhā proud, alone, and unrelenting.

Folio 27 is divided into four sections, each a rectangular frame. In the first, there is Rādhā with a garland waiting expectantly; in the second, the *sakhī* gives her a message; in the third, it is again Rādhā with a garland, but this time





'with a face turned away from the garland, and in the fourth, a dancer in a vivacious pose of a *pārśvakrānta* is seen.

It is obvious from the illustrations of the folio that although there is a very general co-ordination of the text and the illustrations the painter is communicating the theme according to his understanding and not in a strict sequential relationship to the text.

Text folio 28

Bhāvas 36, 39 and 40 Rādhā at last relents and begings to prepare herself to meet Kṛṣṇa. She first has a bath, and then she repeats the name of Kṛṣṇa with each step. Gradually she approaches Kṛṣṇa and beholds him. Both are moved to tears. The waiting has indeed been long and painful.

In *Bhāva 40* Kṛṣṇa addresses Rādhā endearingly. The journey no doubt was long, she must be tired. He offers to hold her feet loosen her garments and soothe her weariness away. This is no doubt a prose rendering of the famous verses of *Gīta-Govinda dehi pada pallavamudāram*.

Illustration folio 28 In one section is seen Rādhā walking in darkness towards Kṛṣṇa. She holds a vessel in one hand, and perhaps a garland in the other. In the other Kṛṣṇa is seen taking with a cowherd, possibly Balarāma in a costume typical of cowherds in paintings of the *Vaiṣṇava* themes in Gujarat. There is no mention of this male character in the text. However, the painting gives us a clue about the author's being familiar with Rāṇā Kumbhā's version of the *Gīta-Govinda*. In the sixth *sarga*, there is a reference to a cowherd in a passage which is considered an interpolation.

Text folios 29 and 30

Bhāva 41 Rādhā, enraptured, holds Kṛṣṇa in her arms. Like a man (*puruṣa rūpa*) she binds Kṛṣṇa to her. Kṛṣṇa, locked in



Rādhā's arms, exclaims what lovely woman can be as man. The rest of the *bhāva* describes the consummation of the ultimate love and is interspersed with exclamations of glory be to Lord Kṛṣṇa. It concludes with an account of the morning after, when Rādhā lies with hair undone and garments dishevelled, her limbs aching and she is a picture of one beautifully wounded with the arrows of Kāma. The *Bhāva* finally concludes on folio 30 with a sentence which may be roughly translated thus: 'This is a glimpse (*jhānkī*) of the *Raṅgalīlā Nāṭaka* of Śrī Bhagavān Govinda Jī and is the gist



of the immortal *Gīta-Govinda* composed by Śrī Jayadeva. I may not be blamed.' Then follows the colophon on folio 30 which states that the work was created for reading or recitation (*paṭhanārtha*) in Saṁvata 1650, Phālguna Śukla, on Sunday, the 7th, in the village (*grāma*) Jāur. It was illustrated through the skill of Śrī Kīratadāsa.

Illustration folio 29 Folio 29 is divided into two sections. In the first there is an erotic scene which visually presents the text and captures many details of the verbal description. In the second, Kṛṣṇa sits on a throne and is seen handing over a garland to Rādhā.

COLOUR PLATES



COLOUR PLATE 1

Illustration folio 2

Although the text makes no mention of the *Daśāvatāra* verses, the painter was obviously acquainted with the original *Gīta-Govinda*. Practically all the illustrated *Gīta-Govinda* manuscripts begin with a pictorial depiction of the *Daśāvatāra*. Indeed, the earliest illustrated manuscripts of the fifteenth century restricts itself only to ten paintings of the *Daśāvatāra*. The particular folio is interesting, both for the spatial arrangements as also the manner in which the artist uses this folio almost as a title page. He introduces the two salient thematic aspects of the *Gīta-Govinda* and thus the two psychic dimensions of the poem. The first is its mystical and spiritual dimension ; the second its human love story. The two move on parallel staves, each reinforcing the other.

The illustrations follow this pattern faithfully: on the upper register are the ten incarnations, each neatly encased in a niche. Although the iconography is strictly adhered to, there is a charming freedom and spontaneity in each of the ten miniature figures. Particularly interesting is the figure of the *Varāha*. A complete mastery of the idiom is evident if the free drawing of the *Varāha* is compared with the incarnations of Rāma, the Buddha and Veṇugopāla in the panel. The monotony of the symmetrical arrangement of the rectangular frames is broken by using a different background for the animal and the human incarnations. Paraśurāma, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are set against shades of blue, and the fish, tortoise, Varāha and Kalki against a yellow background.

Through the lower panel the human love of the divine pair is introduced. Again a clear distinction is made in the background pigment. The two figures of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā are placed against a dark blue background. Two trees frame them. The cows are set against a yellow background. Significant is the use of the Indian red for the halo of Kṛṣṇa which is used for distinguishing him from the others throughout the manuscript. Pictorially the red of the halo, and the pink of Rādhā's *sārī* are beautifully balanced. The folio uses the two colours, yellow and blue (*pīta* and *śyāma*) in a remarkable manner. The text of the *Gīta-Govinda* is a symphony of colours, particularly yellow and blue. The painter appears to be fully conscious of this colour symbolism. Also significant is the use of red and white in the illustrations.



COLOUR PLATE 2

Illustration folio 3

The folio recreates the poetic description of Kṛṣṇa with the *gopīs*. The *Gīta-Govinda* verses, beginning *lalitalavaṅga-latā*, had provided the base for the prose rendering. The painter takes his cue from the Mewari-Bāgarī version to portray Kṛṣṇa's spring-time dance with the *gopīs*. The fifteenth-sixteenth centuries manuscripts, especially the B. J. Institute manuscript, portray a *rāsa*, so do the *Gīta-Govinda* illustrations of the N. C. Mehta Collection. Our manuscript is different. Kṛṣṇa is seen with a single *gopī* in the first section of the panel. Kṛṣṇa is in a movement of the dance, the *gopī* approaches him with out-stretched arms. There is a generous use of red and blue. The flowing scarves suggest joy and abandon. In the next section, a *gopī* dances in an *ardhamaṇḍalī* against a yellow background. She wears shorts as seen often in the dances of the *Devasāno Pāḍo* marginal figures. Her coiffure is also reminiscent of many Jaina paintings. But the treatment is radically different. It is freer and more spontaneous. In the third section, a drummer and a dance are set against a mauve background. Again, although the stances and the costumes are all reminiscent of many paintings of the Western Indian painting, this is altogether a fresh and free treatment. Indeed, none of the *Bālagopālastuti* paintings achieve this particular level of freedom and animation. Within the confines of the conventional line drawing, there is a feeling of expanse and freedom.



COLOUR PLATE 3

Illustration folio 4

The text describes Kṛṣṇa with the *gopīs* in vivid terms. Illustration folio 3 and 4 translate this imagery in pictorial terms. The painter chooses carefully and is not slavish in his approach.

In folio 4, he is attracted by the description of one *gopī* drenching Kṛṣṇa with coloured scented water and two others dancing the *ghūmara* with him. Finally, the poet speaks of the enchantment of Kṛṣṇa's flute.

The painter divides the surface into three areas, each incorporating a single image. In the first the *gopī* joyfully pours water on Kṛṣṇa. Both figures are set against a yellow background: the colour of the halo of Kṛṣṇa and the blouse of the *gopī* balance each other. There is once again a pictorial play of the yellow and the blue (*pīta* and *śyāma*). Kṛṣṇa wears a short striped *dhotī*, unlike anything we come across in any of the *Balagopālastuti* manuscripts. The figure drawing is remarkable for its sense of movement and a carefree quality. The painter is, however, fully conscious of the laws of anatomy; this is clearly borne out by the taut torsos of the two figures who are placed in a relationship of parallel diagonals in the spatial square. While the mood of revelry continues in the next, the scene changes. Now it is Kṛṣṇa holding two *gopīs*. The arms of all three are interlocked in a beautiful design. This is perhaps the *ghūmara* alluded to in the text. The background is now blue and green and not yellow as in the preceding section. The red of the halo of Kṛṣṇa and the red of the *sārī* of the *gopīs* are again balanced with each other. There is a sense of dynamic movement in the panel and a feeling of gay abandon. The stereotyped extended or farther eye is part of the figure drawing and is not yet a dissociated protuberbance.

In the third section, Kṛṣṇa sits alone against a rich blue background. The torso is painted in dark blue, the *dhotī* in white with a thin red border. This time he wears a headgear unlike the preceding sections. The blue of the background may represent the Yamunā and the tiny dark corner on the top the sky, the meandering paths of the Yamunā banks are painted in mauve. The painter displays an extraordinary sense of perspective in these paintings. This section is a splendid example of the sense of optical perspective seen throughout the manuscript.



COLOUR PLATE 4

Illustration folio 5

The spring-time dance of Kṛṣṇa with the *gopīs* makes Rādhā feel forlorn. She complains to the *sakhī* of Kṛṣṇa's wanton ways. The painter departs somewhat radically from the verbal descriptions. He eliminates the figure of the *sakhī*. Instead he introduces a parrot. Rādhā sits on a white striped carpet, dejected but proud. Her emotional disturbance is expressed in pictorial terms through a dexterous use of stripes and dots which break the harmony. There is an effective use of white. Significantly, instead of a single colour for the background, several shades and lines are used. The Western Indian paintings on the Jaina themes had not ever resorted to this blending of colours of the background. Each was a strictly demarcated area. Here it flows from one section to the next. Also instead of filling in the outlines of trees and bushes with detailed brush work, he chooses to suggest these through dots and specks. The forehead mark (*tilaka*) of Rādhā and her ear-rings are also portrayed through the same technique.

In the second section, Kṛṣṇa sits alone, again conversing with birds and nature rather than human beings. The sitting postures of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are different each evocative of a state of separation. None of the paintings of the Western Indian paintings of the fifteen century make use of these sophisticated and relaxed sitting positions.

The background colours of the second section are interesting. The mauve background of the first section is continued in the first quarter of the second section. Although the colour of the background, along with the repetition of a tree, provides a continuity, the formal arrangement of the folio is two self-contained sections. Kṛṣṇa is seated against a dark blue background; he is clad in a bright yellow *dhotī*: the same yellow is then repeated for the background of the last section where a peacock appears. An extreme corner of this section suggests the sky and the clouds.

Pictorically the panel is interesting for the many departures from the rigid conventions of the Western Indian painting. There is no overcrowding, no formal arrangement of figures, and no fine brush or pen work. Instead the lines are drawn with freedom, with a thicker brush stroke and a generous use of stripes, dots and curvilinear patterns. The use of colours is determined by the painter's comprehension of the mood of the theme, rather than a palette which uses colour purely decoratively. This is a major break-through.




COLOUR PLATE 5

Illustration folio 6

Illustration folio 6 departs from the description of the text somewhat. The text describes the long arduous journey of Kṛṣṇa and his arrival. Rādhā swoons and Kṛṣṇa restores her through his healing touch. The painter composes his picture on this last suggestion. Rādhā sits clasping her knees against a yellow background. Kṛṣṇa stands as if he has just entered and touches her forehead. An outdoor and an indoor scene are effectively recreated through the use of different colours for the background. In one single section, there are three different colours, each suggestive of a passage of time. In the next section, a vivacious Kṛṣṇa plays polo with a *sakhī*. Movement is communicated through the fluttering of tassels and scarves and Kṛṣṇa's leaning forward towards the *sakhī*. There are no parallels or antecedents of such a portrayal in any of the Western Indian paintings on Jaina or Vaiṣṇava themes. The painter of the illustrations of this manuscript displays evidence of originality and freshness throughout.

The first and second sections are finally contrasted with a single animated, beautifully drawn, cow against a red background.

A comparison of the illustrations of the several folios makes it clear that although the range of the artist's palette was not large, he employs colour with great sensitivity and discrimination. There is invariably a balancing of the red, the yellow and the blue. While each unit is self-contained, there is also nearly always a continuity in pictorial terms.



COLOUR PLATE 6

Illustration folio 8

The mood shifts in this folio. Kṛṣṇa waits for Rādhā expectantly. The *sakhī* persuades Rādhā to relent. The painter takes us to an indoor scene. Kṛṣṇa reclines on a bed: he is in a pensive mood. The night is suggested by the dark blue background and the solitary flower. The dark blue of Kṛṣṇa's body and the blue of his *dhotī* reinforce the mood of expectancy. Yellow is used in one half of the first section.

In the next section, the *sakhī* persuades Rādhā. A sense of agitation is communicated through the use of the varying shades of blue of the background and expressive faces of the two figures. There is in this section a very restrained use of red and a total absence of yellow. In the last section there is a solitary figure. The stance of the figure, the expressive gesture of a forefinger resting on the lip all recreate a mood of amazement. Unlike the paintings of the *Daśamaskandha* of a slightly later period, the female figures of this manuscript are all vivacious and animated. Each has a distinctive expression and an individuality. Few miniature paintings display this command over facial expression as in the present illustrations.



COLOUR PLATE 7

Illustration folio 9

The folio is divided into two equal sections, unlike the preceding one. In the first, there is further demarcation through the use of different colours for the background. Kṛṣṇa is seated under a tree, against a mauve background. Rādhā stands against a yellow background. She offers a gift of flowers to Kṛṣṇa. The red of the halo of Kṛṣṇa is again balanced against the red of the *sārī* of Rādhā. She stands with feet together. There is no fluttering and swaying of scarves and tassels. Kṛṣṇa's eagerness to accept the gift is delicately communicated through an unlifted palm. Throughout the illustrations of the manuscript, the painter gives evidence of a rare sensitivity to colour and movement. In this respect, the illustration does greater justice to the spirit of the original *Gīta-Govinda,* rather than to what the particular Rajasthani version literally demanded.

The second section is also further broken up into three areas through the use of different colours for the background. The blue almost fades into the dull yellow. The last section is in mauve. These three are set in contrast to the brick red colour of the ground. Cattle are drawn with a sure, clear brush stroke, with effective use of white. The tonality of the colours has a wide range in the paintings. The particular mauve is almost unique to this manuscript. So also is the particular shade of green which is used for the trees.

The shapes of the trees differ from folio to folio. In some there is a conical mass, in others an ovoid form and yet in others a round circle. There is no evidence of the branched trees characteristic of the *Gīta-Govinda* of the N. C. Mehta Collection, the B. J. Institute *Gīta-Govinda,* or that of the City Palace Museum, Jaipur, Collection, all belonging to a period two decades later.



COLOUR PLATE 8

Illustration folio 11

The text of *bhāvas* 14 and 15 describes poignantly the weakened state of Rādhā. She is compared to the setting sun, the waning moon. She is all shrivelled up with longing for Kṛṣṇa.

The painter recreates the mood imaginatively. He divides the folio into two unequal sections. In the first section, a *sakhī* and Kṛṣṇa are seen against a dark background. Kṛṣṇa stands aloof, while the *sakhī* appears agitated and about to move away. The halo of Kṛṣṇa is the only bright patch of colour, all else is dark and gloomy.

In the next section, Kṛṣṇa stands in one part and the *sakhī* with the portrait of Rādhā in another. Yellow, dark blue and red provide the background colours for the scene. Curvilinear lines suggest clouds. There is an effective use of yellow, black and red in the first portion. In the second half, the group of *sakhīs* form an interesting composition. Three stand with feet closed and outstretched arms, as if pleading with Kṛṣṇa who looks away. One of them carries a deminutive Rādhā or a portrait of Rādhā. The lyrical flow of some preceding folios is replaced here by a sense of dramatic tension. The figure drawing, the background colours and the juxtaposition of figures, all contribute in evoking a sense of theatre. This folio is a kind of *jhānkī*, a tableaux-like recreation of a dramatic moment.



COLOUR PLATE 9

Illustration folio 12

Rādhā's state of despondency and longing is recreated in this folio through a different device. This time the *sakhīs* are not describing her state to Kṛṣṇa. Rādhā herself is seen lying on a bed, obviously in a weakened state. Neither sandle wood paste, nor the rays of the moon will cool the heat of her passion. The painter divides the folio into three sections. In the first, a *sakhī* points at a lonely tree. She is set against a deep purple background, but the solitary tree is drawn against a yellow background. In the middle panel, Rādhā is reclining against a dark purple background. The small specks of red and the red of the bed and of the bolster, provide the relief to an otherwise despondent picture.

In the third section, a *sakhī* prepared sandal paste to assuage Rādhā. The colours are soft and delicate, appropriate to the mood. A pastel green and mauve provide the background. A soft pink of the *sakhī* is set against white and red striped flooring. There is an effective use of white and ochre yellow. This palette and colour scheme is altogether innovative and charming.



COLOUR PLATE 10

Illustration folio 13

The painting has a very distant connection with the text which describes the *sakhī's* pleading with Rādhā. Pictorially, however, the paintings are charming for their sensitivity and impressive for their technical devices.

There are three sections. In the first a child Kṛṣṇa tends the cows. He stands dark and short with cattle against a red background. The Yamunā is seen as a curve which cuts across the surface. Its gradually receding lines reflect a sense of optical perspective. In the second section, the Yamunā is restricted to a triangular area with a shrine in the distance. Rādhā stands clasping a tree with one hand and holding a garland in the other. The background is yellow.

In the third section, cattle are seen, with a Yamunā and receding hills in the background. The white cattle are set against a red background. The Yamunā is portrayed as two horizontal lines which cut across the surface.

The folio is significant for the manner in which the painter portrays the Yamunā in each of the sections. They eye of the beholder moves from the Yamunā of the first section as a curve, to a Yamunā as a triangular space in the second section, and as a horizontal cross section in the last. Also impressive is the manner by which the red background of the first and the third sections hold the three sections of the folio together.







COLOUR PLATE 11

Illustration folio 14

The drama of the lovers takes a new turn. Now Kṛṣṇa arrives, but Rādhā does not relent. The *sakhī* pleads with her.

The painter portrays this by dividing the folio into four sections, each with a different background colour. While the *sakhī* stands against a mauve background, with her arms spread out, Kṛṣṇa takes wide strides against a dark blue background. The halo of Kṛṣṇa, the ground he covers and the *sāṛī* of the *sakhī* are in red, each balanced spatially against the other. The use of the same tonality of red provides the continuity in the third section: here it is used as one smooth background. The yellow *dhotī* of Kṛṣṇa and his dark body are set in deep contrast against this deep red background. Cleverly the halo is suggested through a double circular line. In the last section, Rādhā is seen seated against a yellow background. One hand rests on her thigh and the other near her lips.

The painter uses colour skilfully to evoke different moods in each folio. With three or four primary colours, he creates many tonalities and shades, and each time it is a creative use of his palette. His understanding of human movement, as an indicator of the inner emotional state, is evident in the effective and successful use of stance and posture. There is also a fair amount of variety in the use of brush strokes. Sometimes the outlines are thick and heavy, as in Colour Plate 5. On other occasions, they are thin and fine, as in the figure of Kṛṣṇa in the third section of this folio.



COLOUR PLATE 12

Illustration folio 17

The text of the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* makes a radical departure from Jayadeva's *Gīta-Govinda* at this point. It introduces an intermediary meeting of the two lovers. This probably arose from the author's misreading of the original Sanskrit.

The painter is faithful to the Jāur text. In folio 17, he depicts Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in an embrace in the first section. A floor-spread, against a red background, provides a touch of gaiety. Yellow and mauve are used for the background. Colour is asymmetrically distributed.

In the second long panel, there is again a separation. The two characters are seen almost bidding farewell to each other. The pastel shade of a sea green provides the background for a Rādhā, who is dressed in a brick red *sārī*. Kṛṣṇa is placed against a dark background, which blends into a mauve. This juxtaposition of the green, dark blue and mauve suggests a passage of time and the gradual parting of ways. The halo of Kṛṣṇa is the only bright patch of colour ; it is a constant reminder to the spectator that the drama is of the divine lovers and to be viewed thus.



COLOUR PLATE 13

Illustration folio 19

Kṛṣṇa has moved away to the banks of the Yamunā. Rādhā sits under the cluster of trees waiting for him to return.

The painter recreates the scene beautifully in pictorial terms. Trees, large and small, with deep green foliage, are set against a mauve background. A single brush stroke, or a double line, suffices to suggest the trunks. Rādhā sits under the shade of one of these, expectant, anxious but proud. The mauve background merges into the red. Criss-cross lines of her *sārī* are indicative of her inner agitation, her posture reflects her sense of restraint and outer composure.

The figure of Rādhā is in deep contrast with the vivacious drama of the second section where a *sakhī* is seen pulling at the scarf of Kṛṣṇa. A deep yellow background with small red specks frames the *sakhī*: and aquamarine background, merging into mauve, provides the setting for Kṛṣṇa. Fish swim in the Yamunā below and a solitary tree stands aloof as if watching the drama.

Although the two sections are self-contained, they are parts of a whole. With purpose, the painter provides a contrast of a static sitting Rādhā and a moving, almost running, Kṛṣṇa. A touch of humour and mischief adds to the charm of the composition.



COLOUR PLATE 14

Illustration folio 20

Rādhā continues with her complaints and her wild fantasies of Kṛṣṇa in the company of other *gopīs*.
The painter recreates the scene through the pictorial device of once again bringing in a bird, the proverbial messenger between lovers. The three sections of the folio are clearly demarcated from each other and one does not blend into another as in some preceding folios. In the first section, Rādhā addresses the bird. A triangular section suggests the Yamunā, and, diagonally opposite, another section the sky. Rādhā stands against a pale green background and is framed by two trees. Everything in the painting cumulatively communicates an ill-at-ease feeling.

In the second section is recreated the mental aberrations of Rādhā, who imagines Kṛṣṇa with the other *gopīs*. Kṛṣṇa is seen with a *gopī* in a mood of gay abandon. A bright background, a dancing *gopī*, completes the mental picture.

In the third section, Rādhā sits under a tree with a snake. The curve of the tree-trunk frames Rādhā effectively. Deep mauve and yellow patches provide the background.

A comparison of the several folios will make it clear that the painter does not ever repeat himself throughout the twenty-eight illustrations. He introduces many variations to communicate the mood of the literary piece.



COLOUR PLATE 15

Illustration folio 25

In a preceding folio (Illustration folio 24, monochrome) Rādhā had cried out to the Yamunā and had said: "Are your waters not enough to drown me." In this folio, the mood is different. Rādhā arrives and Kṛṣṇa receives her with loving tenderness of the famous twenty-second *prabandha* of Jayadeva's *Gīta-Govinda.* She must be tired. Hari pleads with her to place her feet on his head: *pada pallavamudāram :* These verses have inspired poets, writers, and painters alike. In the N. C. Mehta Collection *Gīta-Govinda* and the City Palace Museum, Jaipur, we see a Rādhā literally placing her feet on the figure of a diminutive Kṛṣṇa. In this folio, Kṛṣṇa is seen decorating her feet with 'lac' as described in the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda.*

In the first section, Rādhā sits on a striped flooring, proud, but loving, with her leg extended. She is set against a yellow background. Kṛṣṇa sits humbly against a dark blue background, holds her foot tenderly. The lacquer is suggested through a red patch which is of the same colour as his halo. His white *dhotī* is set against the dark background. The indoor and outdoor environment are sensitively portrayed through the use of these contrasting colours.

In the second section both sit on the striped flooring in close proximity. The background colour changes into a green and there is a feeling of sunshine and light in the section. Rādhā no longer sits proud: she is soft and tender.

In the third section Rādhā is adorning herself in front of a mirror. The mirror is placed against a dark blue background and Rādhā sits on a red floor, with a yellow background. The three sections of the folio are a beautiful symphony of colour and reflect a touching tenderness.

Indeed there is nothing stereotyped about these visual interpretations. They stand as paintings on their own and as excellent illustrations of the text.



COLOUR PLATE 16

Illustration folio 29

And finally the union, and the dawn after it. The last two *prabandhas* of the *Gīta-Govinda* have also inspired painters in the diverse schools of miniature painting to interpret these verses in pictorial terms. Sometimes the pictorial depiction of these highly mystical, as also erotic, verses has been portrayed symbolically as in the Pahari Schools especially Basohli: at other times it has given rise to a whole genre of erotic scenes, as in Orissan palm leaf manuscripts, where they are known as *rati-bandha*.

The painter of the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* appears to be fully acquainted with the original *Gīta-Govinda,* as also his specific text.

He bases his pictorial composition on the phrase: "What lovely woman can be, as a man. The scene shifts indoors to an affluent setting. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are on a red divan. The halo of Kṛṣṇa merges into the colour of the bed. The rich sensuous imagery of the poem is transformed into this visual picture, complete with ritual objects, decorations and the rest. The allusions to the lion in the context of the slim waist of Rādhā and her passion, are transfigured into a concrete decorative motif. We come across this technique of concretising poetic imagery and even metrical patterns into pictorial terms in other sets of illustrations of the *Gīta-Govinda,* particularly in an early eighteenth century set of drawings on the *Gīta-Govinda* from Bundi. The *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metrical pattern is often seen in the drawings as a *śārdūla.*

In the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* illustration, the ambivalence of interpretation is evident, but the appearance of a lion is as decorative as symbolic at this heightened moment of the consummation of the two lovers. The motif is most effectively used.

In the second section, Kṛṣṇa sits on a throne and offers a garland to Rādhā. The god-head, having played his human drama, returns to the divine status. Rādhā is the humanity who sits in supplication. The symbolism of the red of the halo of Kṛṣṇa and the red of the *sārī* of Rādhā is repeated. The oft-repeated *lāla* (red) of medieval Hindi poetry appears to be the basis of the evocative symbolic use of the colour throughout the illustrations.

The compositional pattern, the figure drawing, the brush strokes and the palette have nothing in common with the *Caurapañcāśikā* style which had already come to stay by the time when the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* was created. Nor is the pictorial style a folk version of earlier Western Indian paintings on Jaina themes and Vaiṣṇava paintings. It has a distinct original personality, despite the obvious echoes of earlier years.



COLOUR PLATE 17

Motichandra and Khandalavala have reproduced these two paintings (Pls. 17 & 18) in *New Documents of Indian Paintings* as monochrome figures 201 and 202. They date these paintings around 1575 A.D., along with the *Gīta-Govinda* set in the *Caurapañcāśikā* style in the Prince of Wales Museum Collection. The latter have been reproduced as Colour Plates 22 and 23 in the same volume. The dates suggested are 1525-1575 A.D. For a comparative study of the illustrations of the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* with other contemporary developments, these two are valuable. The same verses during almost the same period, or a decade or two preceding, reflect a totally different treatment of the theme and verbal content. Plate 17 and folio 20 are the pictorial interpretation of the same verse of the *Gīta-Govinda*. In the seventh *sarga* the *sakhī* returns alone without Kṛṣṇa. Rādhā, striken with grief weeps and cries aloud 'who will be my solace, my youth, my love is wasted.' The stylistic differences are self-evident and hardly need comment. The format, the figure drawing, the spatial arrangement, the dress and coiffure, the trees and the foliage are all different, the only element which holds the two together is the poetic verse which is rendered pictorially. The painter of the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* is less sophisticated, but more sensitive. He recreates the verbal imagery through a series of contrasts. The painter of Pl. 17, classified as one amongst the *Caurapañcāśikā*, has a more formal, sophisticated and intellectual approach. His composition is formally divided into the sky above, the stylised Yamunā below and the two scenes of Rādhā and *sakhī* in one section, and Kṛṣṇa sitting solitary in another section. The three-fourths face, the extended eye and the pastel shades of the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* are replaced by an unambiguous profile transparent *oḍhanīs* and *chākadāra jāma*. Even if the provenance is debatable, can one deduce that one style led to the other, or vice versa, on the basis of the dates suggested for Pl. 17, and the clear colophon of the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* ? Clearly the answer would be in the negative. The same negative conclusion would be reached if the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* illustrations are compared with the illustrations of the Prince of Wales Museum *Gīta-Govinda*. The only conclusion one can arrive at is that in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, there were multiple regional schools in evidence and that it would be erroneous to establish a unilinear chronology of development for each of the schools. This deduction could be supported through a comparative study of the several regional dramatic and musical forms of the contemporary period. If this hypothesis is not accepted, then one would be obliged to place the entire *Caurapañcāśikā* group of paintings much later than the dates so far ascribed to them. Obviously other circumstantial evidence supports the dates of 1525-1575 A.D., so far ascribed to this group of paintings. It would appear thus that the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* is obviously the last in the line of the painting school, called the Western Indian paintings. The school apparently continued until the end of the sixteenth century, before giving place to early Mewar paintings. Elsewhere, as in the Prince of Wales Museum *Gīta-Govinda* in the *Caurapañcāśikā* style, and Plates 17 and 18 from the National Museum, a more formal and sophisticated style of painting had emerged, where the format and the figure drawing, the foliage and the palette had all changed.

The Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* illustrations remain unaffected by these changes, although it develops its own individual style. The antecedents of the style have obviously to be traced to the Western Indian paintings on the Jaina and Vaiṣṇava themes.



COLOUR PLATE 18

The painting illustrates the third verse of the ninth *prabandha*. The *sakhī* tells Kṛṣṇa:

> "The strong wind of her own sighing
> Feels like the burning fire of love
> Kṛṣṇa, Rādhikā suffers in your desertion."

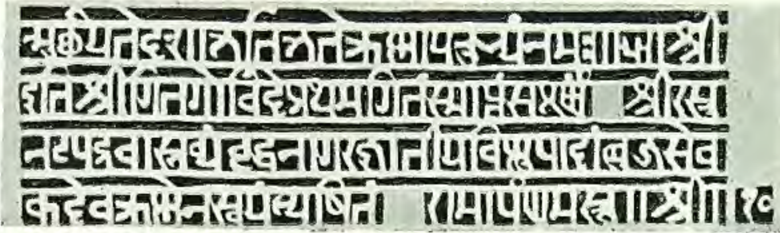
The painter uses two different compositional patterns. He divides his space horizontally into the sky on the top and the Yamunā at the bottom. The central area of the dramatic action is divided vertically into different sections. Trees are used as dividers. The background is one smooth pink for the entire section. In the first section Rādhā sits on a bolster with her long slender arms limp with sighing. Two trees and sprayed branches frame her. Her expression is blank and it has none of the vivacity of the Rādhā figure of the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda*. In the second section, a solitary peacock stares blankly at Rādhā. Indeed, the mood of Rādhā is recreated more through the presence of the peacock rather than by the figure of Rādhā. In the third section, the *sakhī* is describing the state of Rādhā to Kṛṣṇa. Both hold one hand in *hamsasya*. The tiara of Kṛṣṇa is reminiscent of tiar as seen in some Moghul paintings, particularly the *Razmanāma*, but there are no other similarities. The arrangement is formal and decorative. Thus, although pictorially the painting is more sophisticated and the transparent *oḍhanīs* and other features of costume, coiffur, details of the trunk of the palm-tree, are indicative of greater painting skill, it lacks the vibrant warmth of the Jāur *Gīta-Govinda* paintings.

In the *Caurapañcāśikā* style, the Prince of Wales Museum *Gīta-Govinda* is the best. The paintings of that set reflect an inner and deeper understanding of the verses of the poem (see monochrome fig. 9). Pictorially, also, they are more satisfying as composition.


श्वसितपवनमनुपमपरिणाहं मदनदहनमिववहतिसदाहं ॥ राधिका

MONOCHROME ILLUSTRATIONS





1. Daśāvtāra Inscription from Patan. 1291 A.D.

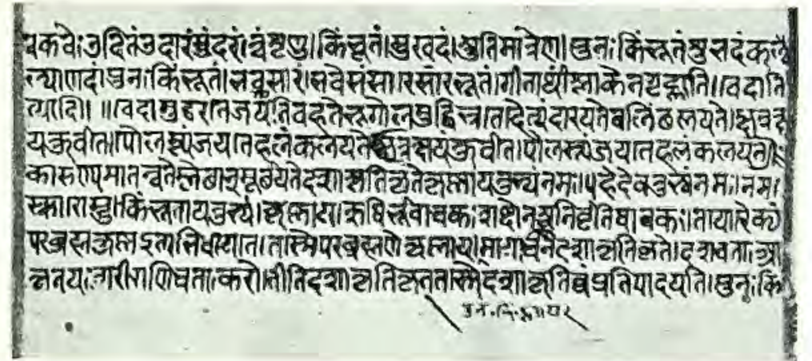


3. Illustration of Matsya Avatāra. Illustrated Gujarati MS., c. 1458 A.D.

2. Daśāvatāra Inscription from Patan. 1291 A.D.



4. Illustration of Nṛsimha Avatāra c. 1458 A.D.





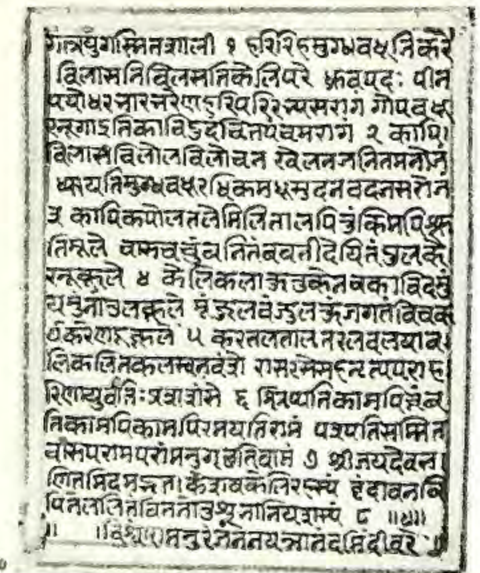
5. Illustration from *Gīta Govinda*, collection of B. J. Institute, Ahmedabad. Late 16th century A.D.



6. Illustration from *Gīta Govinda*, collection of B. J. Institute, Ahmedabad. Late 16th century A.D.



7. Illustration from *Gīta Govinda*, collection of B. J. Institute, Ahmedabad. Late 16th century A.D.



8. Illustration from *Gīta Govinda*, collection of B. J. Institute, Ahmedabad. Late 16th century A.D.



9. Illustration from *Gīta Govinda*, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, (in *Chaurapañcāśikā* style), c. 1525-1575 A.D.



10. Illustration from *Gīta Govinda*, Western Indian style, N. C. Mehta collection, c. 16th century A.D.



11. Illustration from *Gīta Govinda*, Western Indian style, N. C. Mehta collection, c. 16th century A.D.



12. Illustration from *Gita Govinda*, Western Indian style, N. C. Mehta collection, c. 16th century A.D.



13. Illustration from *Gīta Govinda,* Western Indian style, Maharaja Sawai Mansingh II City Palace Museum, Jaipur, c. 16th century A.D.



14. Illustration from *Gīta Govinda,* Western Indian style, Maharaja Sawai Mansingh II City Palace Museum, Jaipur, c. 16th century A.D.



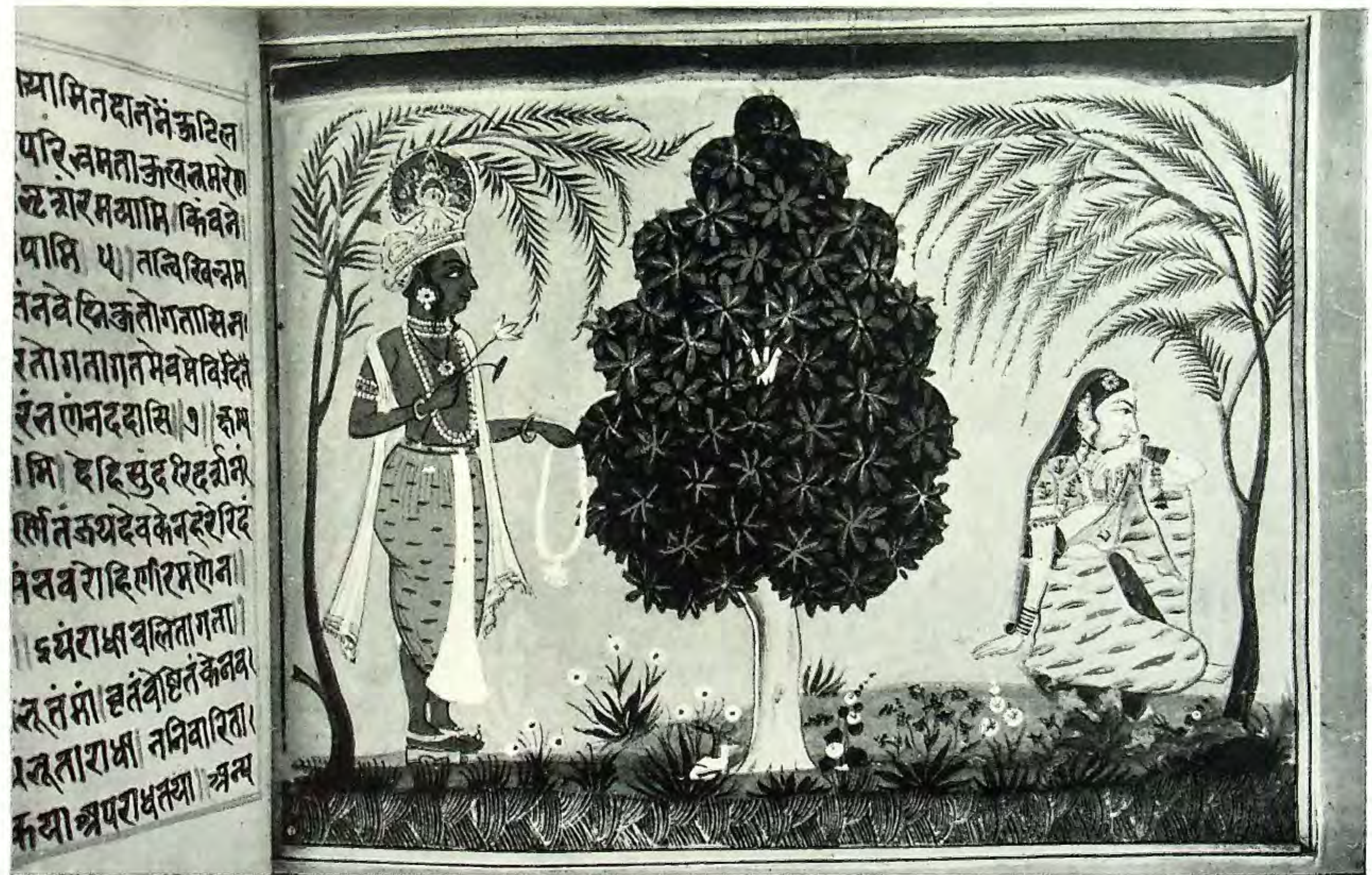
15. Illustration from *Gīta Govinda,* Western Indian style, Maharaja Sawai Mansingh II City Palace Museum, Jaipur, c. 16th century A.D.



16. Folio from the *Gīta Govinda,* collection of Maharaja of Kankorali. c. 16th century A.D.



17. Folio from the *Gīta Govinda,* collection of Maharaja of Kankorali. c. 16th century A.D.



18. Illustration of *Gīta Govinda,* Saraswati Bhandar, Udaipur, Rajasthan, c. 1654 A.D.



19. Illustration of *Bālagopālastuti*, c. 15th century A.D.



20. Illustration of *Bālagopālastuti*, c. 15th century A.D.



21. Illustration of *Bālagopālastuti*, c. 15th century A.D.

22. Illustration of *Bālagopālastuti*, c. 15th century A.D.





23. Illustration of *Bālagopālastuti*, c. 15th century A.D.



24. Illustration of *Bālagopālastuti*, c. 15th century A.D.



25. Illustration of *Bālagopālastuti*, c. 15th century A.D.



26. Illustration from *Pañca Tantra* MS from Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, Late 15th century A.D.



27. Illustration from *Pañca Tantra* MS from Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, Late 15th century A.D.



28. Illustration from *Pañca Tantra* MS from Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, Late 15th century A.D.



29. Illustration from *Pañca Tantra* MS from Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, Late 15th century A.D.



30. Illustration from *Pañca Tantra* MS from Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, late 15th century A.D.

31. Illustration from *Pañca Tantra* MS from Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, late 15th century A.D.





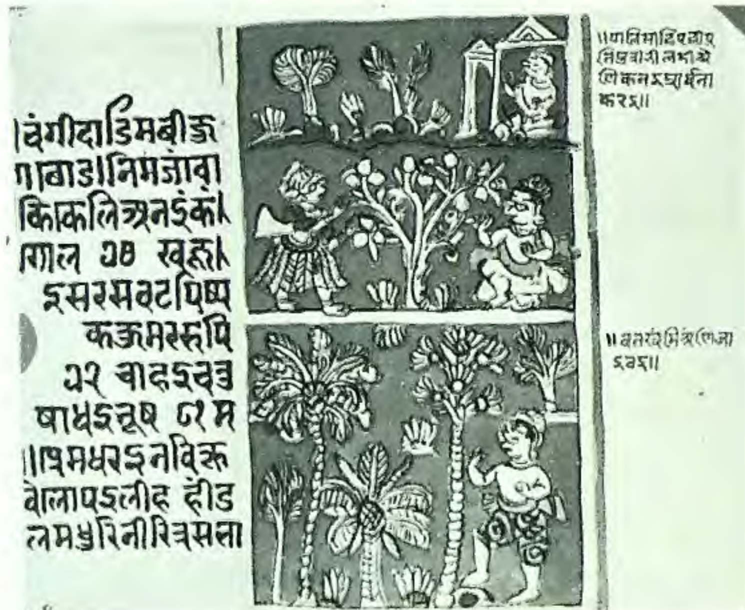
32. A leaf from *Śreṇika Samyaktava Rāsa*, folio, 9 a. 1546-48 A.D.



33. A leaf from *Śreṇika Samyaktava Rāsa*, folio, 43 a. 1546-48 A.D.



34. A leaf from *Śreṇika Samyaktava Rāsa,* folio, 19 a, 1546-48 A.D.



35. A leaf from *Śreṇika Samyaktava Rāsa,* folio, 6 a. 1546-48 A.D.



36. A leaf from *Śveṇika Samyaktava Rāsa,* folio, 23 a. 1546-48 A.D.

37. A leaf from *Śreṇika Samyaktava Rāsa,* folio, 34 b, 1546-48 A.D.

38. A leaf from *Śreṇika Samyaktava Rāsa,* folio, 7 a, 1546-48 A.D. ▶

39. Illustration from a *paṭa,* L. D. Institute, Ahmedabad, late 16th Century A.D.



40. Folio from a *Gīta-Govinda* Manuscript (anonymous).



41. Folio from a *Gīta-Govinda* Manuscript (anonymous).

42. Folio from a *Gīta-Govinda* Manuscript (anonymous).

Appendix I

JĀUR GĪTA GOVINDA

(Text in Devanāgarī)

अथ गीत गोविंदाख्यान रा पाना

श्री कृष्णाय नमः

श्री एकलिंगा(य) नमः ॥

भाव पेला ।। १ ।।

एक दिवस बावानंद जी री आदश थकी राधकाजी श्री भगवान को मारग में साथ कर वानै घेरे हैथ सूं जमना ढावे मोद मंगल करता हालगी। मारग में नीकी लीला कीवी ।।

भाव दूजो ।। २ ।।

भगवान श्री राधका जी रा आनंद सूं भोग भोगवुं तर पछी आलिंगन थी उण राधका री कांचली मांहली केशर श्री जी रे अगे राचगी जाण जजे उणारी थरपण पे गांठ गुला दीवी ।।

भाव तीजो ।। ३ ।।

पीड़ा सूं पांगली कामज्वर थकी असमांदी गेलारय कामणियां ने पीघालवा वाला श्रीजी री लीला अपरंप(र)छि ।। बसंत री रत भंवरा भ्रमता नें भरमाता पण श्रीजी री अणकुंपा छै ।।

भाव चौथो ।। ४ ।।

अगर तगर केशर चंदन कस्तुरी सुवास री उन नृमिली पग काम री केत री गंद ओत प्रोत ओतराण कामणियां नै मांणवा वाला श्री वंसरीवाला ने तीन लोक चौद भुवन जाण्तोओप छै। साख्यात कामदेव ने लारे वातत्रैग नागवेक हालता खाखरा रा फेफ रा पुसप जीस्या रतुंवा नष गदराता कुंचाड़ा पे गडोता पुठरा दीठे छै। चतराम चरचती फूतरीयां सोला सीणगार करती डावाड़यां तथा कामण करती मनचोर गोरड़यां ने मोहफांस में वांदी वणावता अने तस्तताल वजावती गावती ने चंचला जेवीं उणारी भावना फेरता गोविंदा थारी माया अपार छै।।

भाव पांचमो ।। ५ ।।

कामदेव रातीवा तीर ऊगता भागजेवी आभा केवड़ा री नाल सरीषी सेंगंध वाला कानजी घुमर लेमता छका ओये छै। रमणीयां में रमता श्रीजी री नसनस उभावे छै केल री कामठी ज्युं लचकती आंगलियां बंसरी सुर उघाड़ता मन में भावे छै।

भाव छठो ।। ६ ।।

कुंजमां रमत करु ।। जमना तीरे तीरे लेरां सेवता चराचरह् में वसतां श्री भगवान पण राघकाजी रो मनोरथ पूरता भगवान त्रीलोकीनाथ वसंत री रत लेरारियां बागा में रुपाला दीठे छै काची कूंपलां जटकातां सावण जेवी रत दीठी सावण की

डोकरी जेड़ा राता चेठा में अधर पधर दंसता दाड़म रा दाणा ज्यूं दांत फरकणी ज्यूं फड़कता चरणारवंद पपह्या ज्यूं वोलता मीठी वाणि माछली ज्यूं हालता नैन अंग अंग छलकती काया काला नाग ज्यूं वटमरोड़ा खामता घूगर माल केश काना कुण्डल सोवता कमर करंगती अन छैल कड़ी र बीजा कान माथे भंवरकड़ी ओपमा आवी शीश मुकुटधारी

मारो नाथ उरुला अंगवाली कमल पुष्प जेवी तरनाटा भरती झोटडियां ने मानतो मानतो माणतो दीठे छै।।

भाव सातमो ।। ७ ।।

अरे राधाजी कोई पण सषी श्री भगवान ने मोहवा हेत दोय कुच फूलाय ने कुंचारी सेम दरसावती रागणी सुर मां सुर जोड़ती गावे छै।। बीजी दाण श्री कानजी रे कोड़े जाय कानां में वात रे आलषे (ओझषे) बोला बाच्या चांपया छै। त्रीनी गोपी श्री कानजी रा मुषारवंद सूं श्रीमरत वचनां री चावली डाठाणे लागवा लागी छै।। उणी ओसर श्री नाथजी उणारा हाव भाव जोयता थका नष सुक माया छै।। उण ओसर पे चौंथी सषी वातां में लगावी भगवान रो अंगा वछो दे छहेडयो तर पछी रो सोकड़ी माडी छै। पांचमी सषी पण कीम पाछै रेमती। बल लागती फेफ री कामी ने घोल संपडाती झारी ने उंदावी दीवी। सातमी सषी इण रामतरोल में वलसाय उवी ही ठवीलालजी री गलमाल अने सीणगार रे आलषे तन री ताप चड़वा लागी। पीतवरणी अरसपरषती पण श्री जी रो काम जाग्यो छै।।

भाव आठमो ।। ८ ।।

हे गोपी श्रीजी कणी कणी सखी ने लाड लडावे ने कणी ने थरोज वंदावे अने उणा सषीयां मासुं कणी रो हियो हलोरा भरे तथा जिणारो हेत भराये तिणरो कालजो ठंडो परो वुओ। जिणारो ताप वुझयो नहीं अने—ओ मदी पड़ी विलाप कखु दीठे। कोइ पण काली गेली दीठवी पडवु पण कोई लत्ता वस्त्र फाड़वु जोवती अने कोई पण दांते होंट चवावती ने कोई पण नठो कड़ो मांडती दीठे छै।

भाव नवमो ।। ६ ।।

श्रीजी जीण दाण वंदरावन मां रास रमता ने जणी जणी सू न्यारा न्यारा मिलाप डीला करता तिणी दाण राधकाजी मन मा बेर बांनवा लागवी ने अकोली जाय मन मसोस उपर सांसा मरषा लागवी। कौड़े तणी सखी सूं विलापती दीठवु।।

भाव दसमो ।। १० ।।

अरे निरदेई सवी श्री पण कोई सूजना पड़े त कीम उपाय थी इण वनरावमां म्हारा जीआ (श्री) सूं जोग भोग। वणवो जोगवुं। थने गम पड़तो न दीठवउं। कोई पण जतन करे न कामाधीराज ने हजीज पगपरवो जोग छै। म्हारा अंग रो हड़फूटण कीम मेटवउं। है वनी म्हारा अंग उघड़वो जोग छै। उणारी वातां मीठी मन भावती री ओलू आवै छै। म्हारा माथा महावर जोवता हरि ओये छै। म्हारो कालजो उकोला भरसो आवतो जामतो अथरता भरवउ कीम क वाणक वणाउं तो थरता थाय। है बनड़ी थूं म्हारा हीवड़ा रा हांस ने तेड़बउं तो जनम जनम रो पण उपकार करबउं। ईम सखी री नेनां वरसवा लागती। म्हारा माथा रा मोड़ कीम मने बसरावउं। मन वेठतो न मन घरोज भरतो मचकोला भरता जूलण जूलता नाथ चीते उतरावी जावउ। मन संतोष करतो नथी। म्हारा ऊगता दरता पण म्हारे सीला सीला डबोकड़ा पटके से। ई म कीम दयाड़ा भरता दीठबउ।।

भाव इग्यारवां ।। ११ ।।

श्री हरिराधका जी सूं साष्यात करवा हेत जमना जी रे तीरां तीरां अकोला पग डांडी पकड़ी पगारे फूला तड़कगीया पण राधकाजी रा सेनाण भी पाम्या होय तो मन घरोज बंद जामतो। चालता थकै हालता हार मान मन संतोष पकड़वउ कीम मारग मारग फवकतो कालजो न छलकता नैन मन री साष भरतो नथी। ईम राधाजी रा पुजारी कांकड़ मगरे डांडी उतर गीया पण राधकाजी रो मेल वुओ नथी। छोगतां छोगतां एक सषी जुमना रे ढावे उवी चीर सुखावती दीठवई तिण दाण लाजवंती ने श्री जी मन गांठ खोल राधाजी किण ठाण थरपत वुया छै वुजवऊं। सखी वोलती पण रीषाणी कहाय लभता हजी हारया नथी। श्री भगवान रा हाथ न दांव बोलावी के म्हारे लार हालो। हूं पण मेंट करायदी वउं श्री हरि सषी रे लारे हालीया पण सषी उमावा भरी सांतरी हालवा लागवी पण ठाकुर जी रे अंगे तापती पग आगे पड़ता नथी। सषी घके कुदड़की भरती पण म्हारा नाथ असमांदा जीम पाछै हांपुं धापुं दीठउ। सषी वोली मुरली वाला अठे ही थरपना करावी तो हूं पण वले जाय राधका जी ने जाय तेड़ावऊं।। भगवाने थरता पड़ती कीम। सषी हूं मानतो पण म्हारो मन अंगीकार कीम करतो नथी। वातां करतां मन राधका जी रे हीवड़े र माथ लागीयो की राधाजी री रीष ने भुलाववी धीरे धीरे हालता हालता रुषी राधाजी रे जाय लाग्या—राधाजी हरि रुप जोय गाडी रीषाणी उसुकी भरती बोलावतो कीम। वनेत मूरछीत दांत पण जुड़ गीया। भगवाने सगे हाथां शीतल जल नाकवउं तिण वार चेतन थाय श्री जी हीये लागवी ने सखी री लाज करावी गम नथी हती एवी एवालीला करावउं। भगवान तणी माया रो पार पामता नथी। राधाजी रो कालजो हेमालो जीम शीतल परो पड़ीयो।।

भाव बारवो ।। १२ ।।

तिणी दाण एक सषी श्रीजी ने अरदास करी हरे मोती सरूप मोहन जी राधका जी ने रमावी र उणारी तन ताप हेड़ावऊ। लाण राधका जी लाजवंती जीम मुरजावी छै। राधकाजी तनछीण वीणतन ताप ती वासांनर ज्यूं संलगावऊं। है म्हारा नाथ तमे इण दाण मन री गांठ हेड एक जीव रा दर्शन गंकना रा स्वर दीठाबऊं। अणा राधका जी तड़ाको पण मामतो नथी। छायां पण आसंगती नथी। ईम करी ने इणा रो संताप दरण करावऊं। चांदनी इणारो हीवड़ो चीरती जीम लगावी। कोयल री कोकाट पण कालजो उलजावती ईम म्हारी अरदास अंग थारो ने इणा रो ताप दरणा कराबऊं। है त्रीलोकी रा नाथ ईम राधका जी लगात ओ आपरो नेहेच्यो धारण करी दयाड़ा

तोड़ावती ने आप रो धयान पल पल उमावो रापती पण वंसी वाला तिण पर भी रावरो धीयान इणारी वेदना तणो जावतो दीठाबऊंल्नयी। इणा राधका जी ने अनतन री सुधबुद वीसराणी छै। इण परकार ज थारी जगती रा भाव कीम त मारे चीतें उतरावता अणी दाण तो इण पीतबरणी मीरगणी रामवो पुरोवऊं। हे माया औतार रावली छवी मांडे बगाड़े अने मांड बगाड़े रूप दर्शन करी पछी वीजा षट करावऊं। अणारो नेचो पण पूरण करीवो जोग छै। इणारो मन श्रीजी रा मोजाल अलगाडो छै। अनेक दाण नींदा में अवजगा भरे छैं। हीवड़ा री बात पण तमे जाणता वीजता कीम थरता घड़ी छै। अरे रंगधारी वना रा स्राप लेवा हेत तुमारो पण कालजो कीम हंकारो करावऊं।।

भाव तीरमो।। १३ ।।

अरे केसूजी इणारी डील री गत तो समजो। इणा रे धारण रो वस्तर भार गमे छै। इणा रा करणफूल काल जेवा लगाड़े छै। इणारे मोतीमाल पण नवदाणा नव गोरा (मेरा) जीम लागे छैं। तमारे काल जी रे तमे वीसरावी कीम। इणारे अंगे हड़फूटण लगाड़ी छै। इणारो तन फेफरा पुहय जेड़ो हे तो इण दाण सरुप कजरूपो पड़वी गीयो छै। हरे मोहन जी हरणी कांकड़ पर्वत माटे माटे दट कीदा छै पण परथी रा नाथ तमे कीम थरता अणावी रामती न थी। अरे चीत चोरां रा नाईक रात रात ये राधकाजी आकाश छोगावती ने सरंग रा सेंग तारा गणावती दीयाड़ा उतराड़ा छै। इणा राधाजी रा षटकरमां में पड़ी छै। एकज काम एकज नाम एकज रूप एकज भाव भगती तणों। जीवास छै। इणा ने ठंडा ऊनो बाव गमतो न थी। इणा ने मोहन रो मोह तणो वचार तणो वचार वंधती वेला हांसी हांसी ने रो रो ने घेरे भरावी छै।

भाव चोदमो।। १४ ।।

राधका जी केल री कामठी जीम टूटवऊं। इणा रा ऊना ऊना सांस माण रो ताप लजाड़ता दीठवउं। राधकाजी रे उणमणी गत उणारा मन री जांकी छै। सांजे पड़ता सुंवार उगवता माण तणी दसा छै। ने नां री छटा पण जूनी जेहड़ी लागे छै। सरूप कमलावी गीयो छै। अंगड़ावतां एक दीवस अढी घड़ी तक अवेत राधका जी ने वस्त्रलता रो ध्यान वीसरीवो छै। साथणीयां गावालत्ता ढापीया न शीतल जल जमना जी रो पण। छड़कावता चेतना अवाड़ी छै।

भाव पनरमो।। १५ ।।

राधका जी री भगती रो पार देवता पण पामता नथी। अरे रासधारी जी राधका जी आकाश पामोल एक थाय तो पण हरि नी रटना इक टक लागवी छै।। सरोवर री माछली नीर त्याग उछाला मरावी तीम राधका जी श्री हरिजी रा दरसाव री लाग लगाड़ी छै। पण केशूजी रा गाड़ो मन वज्र ने लजाड़तो दीठबऊं। हरे हरि जी लाडली रा लाड लडाय आप रूप दरसण परु पण करावऊ तो नीकी बात बणी रहे। ईम पण सखी ओपमा भरती भगवान रे राधका जी अधकटी देह जीम हवकी सांसा भरती दीठ बऊं पड़े। हरि जी एक दाण नामेक राधकारे रूप हुंदी मोहनी ओस्ता नाल पलका ने भरी तिणी दाण राधका जी रा नैन जुपकीयां मार गीयां चो नैना री जांकी दरसणी छै।।

भाव सोलमो।। १६ ।।

सखी राधाजी ने घरोज वंधावी बोलवी के जनम जनम ना मीत हरि कोड़े उवा छै। पटहिरदे सूं नीकी वातां करावी जोइए तो तमारी जामना अने पूरण थइतां अने कामना सुफल वही जासे। इणी दाण रीषाण ओपाणी लागती नथी। रावले अरस परस हीवड़ री गांठ खोलावी कारज सार धरम धारखउं तो मनोकामना पूरण थाय एवी रीते सखी थकली वात वीचार जोवा हेतु सारी रीते राधका जी ने समजावी पण तो उणारी रीषाण कीम रज भर उतरावी नथी। श्री टुलक टुलक छोगता रीया वेही जणा नीची कणी रे लागे एवी मरजादै वंधावी ढसमस जोवता नथी। सषी री वैनावड़ी रो जाटता जोमन अचंवो चीतावी के कीम वैही जणा करड़ा वरद वांध हत्रकी भरता उठाणा आथुणा थइ गीया एवी रीते वा जांकी जोवउं पड़े। श्रीजी। पण हार हार मानता दीठबउं नथी अने राधका जी सेंग दीयाड़ा रीष आजेज नीकाल साप्यात कामदेव ओवार ने जुकाय छाप भारवउं। वेही जणा ओले कोले जौवता भला पण मेल मेलाप री आगरणी करे कूण।।

भाव सतरमो।। १७ ।।

सषी वैई जणारी मनोती करती हरावगी। भगवान ने जद हां करी। राधका जी रे वले लाग राधका जी रो चीर दांय वोलाणा के हूं निजे कोड़े आवी गीयो। तमारी म्हारी जीत कुण जोवती भला। म्हारी कोई रीते कमी थाई तेम षमा आपवउं राधका जी नारायण रे इण रीते वरताव सूं पीघली ने हिरदे खोल वाथां जेलाड़ीया। तीण दाण हरष में वेई जणा सषी री वातां वीसावी ने उण ठाम छैक हालगी। सषी रा मन मां—उभाव चड़ीयो के वेई सरवर एकमक संगम जोग जणावी। भारी भावना सुफल थावी। ईण दाण राधका जी श्री हरि। जी रा धणा ई प्रेम सूं जोटका जेलीया। मन मोहन पण रग रग ने वड़ा मन सूं राधकाजी री घुला दीवी। राधका जी बरसा री खांत छन भर प्रेम जुगां जुगां री घाती ओपमा लार लीनी।।

भाव अठारमो।। १८ ।।

वेही जणा ने संताप बुहो अने असनान बीजा करे ने षट कर्म न्यारा न्यारा हालीया पछी मीठी चोपड़ी वातां में ही रात रो उतराण अने राधकाजी सेजा रीसजवड़ हेत माय परवेश करावी। श्री हरि पण वले लागया पण राधका जी वड़ी फुरती सूं अडोकणो उडाणवऊं। तीण वैलां श्री बार हाल वीचार करव्यु के इणा रो काम कर्डो दूसे। थोड़ी बार

सेज री सजावट पूरण पेली ज श्री राधका जी रे वले ऊवा दीठवउं तो राधका जी वेई चरण पकड़ शीस नमावी ग्ररदास करावी के ग्राप घट घट री जाण वा वाला छो हूं। तो श्री जी रे दासी सीम जणावी। भगवान तीण दाण वड़ा चाव सूं हाथ गले लीवी राव काडी ने नष लीदा ने वाला वली वाचीया दीदा ने ग्रंतकरण री बातचीत करावी।

भाव ग्रोनवीसमो ।। १९ ।।

भगवान कुंज री लीला धारी पण हजि जमना रे तीरे तीरे धके हालिया। तिणी राधाजी रा मीठा वेना री ग्रोलु ग्रावी तिण दा (ण) धके हालता चरण धरती तणा चमकावी गीया। उणा रा संगेती ग्रचरज करावी के कीम नारायण चरण उडगावता नथी। ईम एक सगेती कोड़े ग्रावे पुछावउं के धके पदरावणी कीम करता नथी। श्रीजी दरसावी के भायला मारो मन राधकाजी रा हेत परो गीयो। उण रा तीषा नेनां रा कटाक्ष मने चीतराम जेहड़ो दरसाव दीठी म्हारो मन उठारे वले जामतो ग्रामतो धरता कीम करावी।

भाव वीसमो ।। २० ।।

है राधाजी केशवजी तमारी वाट जोलता थका पण दतचीत दीठवउं। उणारे कोड़े वीजी गोपकीयां उणारा कामदेव ने जगाड़ी दीवी तदी उग्रारी छवी उणारी वासना चोगुणी वदावी दीवी। हरे राधकाजी म्हारी वाणी तीरे पण चीतां उतरावी पड़ती नथी। नाल भगवान पणमो लीया वड़ा मन वागे हसे। ईण कारण वंसीवाला रे वले लगावो सार छै। हे सषी नारायण रो जीग ज्यास वीजी त्रीजी डावड़ीया रे संगे रममे रो छै। म्हारी गणत करता नथी। ईम म्हारी ग्रात्मा रीषणी के गांव री गोरड़ीया कीम पार षटकीवी। हूं पण रातदन एक करावी श्रीजी रा चरणावंद उजलावती तीम म्हारो नाथ भागोटीया नाई गीयो। म्हारा चैताहन छण छण ग्रोजषीयां भरावी पण म्हारी ग्रास-पूरवृऊं कीम।

इणदाण श्री जी रे प्रेम री पारष परी पड़ीवी। हे सषी उणा रा निज मन री परीष्या लेवऊं। हरे राधका जी त्रीलोकी रा नाथ तुग्रारी ग्रारया भेज दन राथ षट करम त्याग वऊं।

भाव ग्रक्वीसमो ।। २१ ।।

हरे राधका जी एवी वातां इणा जी ग्रोपावती नथी। तमे लो हूं निज़े लारे हालउं। तमारो जोग भोग री मेल करावी पूर छावती थाय मन री गांठां परी हेडा ग्रो श्रीजी तो पण तमारी वाट जोवता जोवता पण कई दाण चेतना त्यागवी। सेंग वातां त्यागेन हरि जी रे कोडे जामी मन चीतीं पूरण करावउं। ग्रधरां पर ग्रधर नैनां हंदा नैन मिलावी. जूमता कड़ीयाला केसतमारी रमत वना पण फीका दीठवउं। तमारी गत कीम तमें हाथोहाथ भांगवी। कतरा री प्यास बुजावी पोतारी प्यास पूरण करावीस तिणी दाण म्हारो संतोष पण पूरण थावऊं।

हे राधकाजी थोड़ा दीवस तमारो रंग केसर जीम हतो पण हवे रंग जोवता नीको लागतो हन। चांदरी व चांदनी पण फीकी हतीं। तमारो रूप दरसाव पण हजि कुजलो परो पड़ावीस। तमें पण एवी ग्राप्या मरावी के तमारो जीव तमने वाली लगाड़तो नथी। सेजां री सोभा वंदावतां ज तमारी ग्रोपमा वदे छै। तमारी डांवी जांग फुडकावी पण जुवाड़ी नथी। कीम तमारा जेवानथान जमेरी जेवा थसे तो पण तमने दरसावता नथी। तमारी धड़कावती काया पण ठंडी परी पडावी। ग्ररे वाग रो बनमाली पुरो रूठावड तो कीम जूण पूरी थाय।

भाव वावीसमो ।। २२ ।।

सरे राधाजी तमे म्हारी बात मा बहु वीचार करे न केणो मान हरिजी रे बले लागो। तमारी रूपसी काया रो रंग जो कावतो (जोवावतोन जालावतो) म्हाने गमतो नथी। नम्हारा हालता नैन ठरकावी ठरकावी हालता दीठवउं। हे राधका जी सांतरा म्हारी वात सांचवी परा हालवउ तो काम हारो थाय। इण दाण ठाकुर जी एवी रीत हांचवउं के जीम जलांवड़ी माछड़ी। हरे मानवण राधजी तमे कोरो मान मरोड़ रखावी तो पण ग्रोपावी हन। रात कजरारी पण उटरावी। हवे हालवो सार छै।

भाव तेवीसमो ।। २३ ।।

भगवान तमारे पण प्रेम मां उगाणो ग्राथमणो ग्रने घराऊ लंकाउ दस दसा भालता व्हेला। तमे हालो परा। हवे कोइ वीजो मानवी छोगावतो नथी। भगवान तमारी सैंज सुंवारता तर नेनांथ इवई। तमारे वले म्हारी बात पण उतरावती नथी। हालगउ जोग छै। सूरज तमारी ग्रवचेतनारथ पण जाण थकेहाल वषे लागीयो। तमे उतावली करीस। ग्ररे चकवी परी हालो चकवो कीम ग्रलापणी करतो संतापवउ।।

भाव चोवीसमो ।। २४ ।।

ग्ररे। राधका इण वैलां ग्रवछालो। तमारा कारज जोग हेत छै। तमें दीना नाथ री इंछा पूरण करता पुन सामटवउं। भगवान वंसी वजावता उणदाण उणारा ग्रहोट पण जमाड़ता हन। बंसरी बेसुर राग ग्रलापबउं।।

भाव पचीसमो ।।२५।।

एक सषी राधकाजी री बीरह वीलाप री ग्रोसता श्री ने सुनावी के वणी राधका जी रे भोगे भजन री लड़ी वषरावी ने ग्रवचेतना ती उणा राधका जी री वेदना तणी

ताप पण वढोतरीये छै। उणा रा षट करम पण ग्रस्तवस्त थई गवउं। तमे वले जावी दुषहरण कीम करता नथी। राधाजी गेली समान पोते ही मोर पंषी वांद पोते ही पीताम्बरी धारी नैं ग्राप लीला करावउ क्रेहूंज क्रस्न जी ईम बेंडावली छैं।

भांव् छवीसमो ।।२६ ।।

हवें ग्राप डीला पधारे न राधाजी रो कामजुर उतरावउं तो कलीयाण थइ जावई। कीण दाण राधा हंसोकड़ी मांडती कणी दाण रुदन मां(ड)वी। कीण सांसूं ऊपर सांसां भरती•ग्रने कीण दाण लकड़ी रा ढूंठ जीम करड़ावती ।।

भाव सतावीसमो ।। २७ ।।

राधा जी सषी रे कोड़े वेट पीड़ा रो वरणण ईम करावी के सखी कानजी जेवा मानवी इण धरती पर थी पे त्रे चार बीजा ग्रोज्यूं व्हेता तो उणारी निरदीता जोवतां धरती फाट जामती ने पड़लो थामतो। हूं सेंग रात उणी मोटकीया कदमा री जाड़ नीचे उड़ीकवउं पण कान जी रा सैन जुंठी मूंठी लालकी पडामी। मारो जोवन जष मारतो उणारी ग्रासा में ग्रनरागवउं।

भाव ग्राठवीसमो ।। २८ ।।

वीजी कोई लजोकड़ीं रे वसीभूत कानजी ग्रावीया न कोई वीजो कोई संदेड़ो तेडवई। ईम लागतो कोई बीजी गोरड़ी रे गले वले लागवउं। हूं बीजी दाण कीम धरोजवी।

भाव ग्रोगणतीसमो ।। २९ ।।

लीलाधारी रूप जड़ी डावड़ीया रे माथे सीसफूल ग्रने काने कुंडल तथा उणारे बीजा गेणा गांठा री जांकी लटकावटा राधा जी ने चीतां उतरावी दीवी। ईम गंज डावडीया भगवान रे ग्रोड़े कोड़े जमघट मांडवी ।।

भाव तीसमो ।। ३० ।।

राधा जी जमना जी ने वीलापती वोलावी कई थारो पाणी ग्रोछो पड़ावी थूं मने समावती कीम नथी। पवन थूं पण कीम मारो कालजो काढतो नथी। म्हारी पण परतीज्या छै घेरे ईम जामवऊं नथी।

भाव ग्रगतीसमो ।। ३१ ।।

हे भासुता जी राधाजी भगवान डीलां ही तहारे सेणा हूंदा ठाण ग्रावीया। हवे तो मनछा पूरण थई जासे। कोई ईजी वातां बीजी चीतां हन करे। तत्छण सामांलेवी ने मनोरथ सादता पूरवउं। प्रीया रा संगे चरन बताड़ी ने वसीकरण करवउं।

भाव वेतीसमो ।। ३२ ।।

मुरली वाला री ली(ला) ग्रपार छै। उणी वेलां राधाजी ने ग्रादेश थरपीया के तमे मने मन मावतो डंड भलावउ। हूं पूरी पालना करीस। हूं विसावी गीयो हतो। नष तणा गोडो। तत दीता ती गाग्रो। ग्रने हाथां वाथां भरावी म्हारो मान मरदन कराव र तमारी जीम मनोछा माय संग तमारी गाय जीम वांधवु पड़े बंधाणो। तरपछी सूं करीस। तमारो संतोष ज्यू-थाय ग्रोपावी हूं तो ईणा चरणा रे पोथी रो रंग चरचवउं। मारी ग्रास पुरावी तो मारो संताप छुटावी ईम श्री जी वोलावीया ।।

भाव तेतीसमो ।। ३३ ।।

तमारा काला कजरा नेन ग्रने तीषी भांपणी मन भामती पुठरी ग्रोपाणी। तमारा रातूंवा होट ग्रने काली नागणी लजावता केस मने ग्रांसंगता दीठवु। तमारी मीठी ईमरत वाणी पण म्हारो हेंचावी। तमारा सोला सीणगार धके वीजा कोई केई नथी।

भाव चौत्रीसमो ।। ३४ ।।

हूं कामांध तमारी छाली जीम छूं। कनावती हेंचीने (देवी ने) संताप हरणो जोग छै। तमारा पांच वाण मन वींधावी कातर करीस। तमारा सूवटा जेगा नाक ग्रने संप जेवी ठोडी कमल लजाड़ता नैंन ग्रन वंसी पुरवता वेण जमेरी तणा कुचाड़ा केहरी तणी कमर गजराज हूंदा नितंवु ग्रने काची कुंपल जेवी ग्रांगलीयां मेघडंबर सी पाम रूंवाटी मारो ग्रहोभाग्य। हमें तमारो मेलाप पुरवला नीका करमां जोग छै। वीधाता रो रण म्हारे माथे चोढवउं।।

भाव पैंत्रीसमो ।। ३५ ।।

ग्ररे कनकलता राधाजी तमारी पूछना श्री जी रा मु(खा) रविंद थी सुणावउं तो तमे धके हालो। तमारे डोडी पे माघू जी तमारी वाटनालता तमने जोवाड़ें। तर पछी कीम हालता नथी। ईम ग्रोसर चुकाड़वउं नथी ग्रोपता कामदेव रा ग्रोंतार उडीकता सोदे छे।

भाव छैत्रीसमो ।। ३६ ।।

हे राधाजी पायल री गीतावली कान जी रे काना सोभती तेडावती। तमारा हथंफूल पण ठाकुर जी ने दीठावउं। तमने केसूजी पण जोवाड़वा हेमे तेड़ावीया छै।

हवे ओज्यु (ल्युं) ओजांषो षड़ी गीयो से भगवान ने तमारा बार बार अवजांष पड़े भांमे भांत रा वीचार आवती बार बार तुमारीज रट जोड़ला छै।।

भाव सेत्रीसमो।। ३७।।

राते रात ठाकुर वले आवीया अने तमारा भाग पण हजि दरसण हेत जागीया नथी। ईम घेरयवीयणे अतथ सत्कार करवउं जोग छै। अने म्हारी बात गले उतरावती न थाय तो तमारा नरनारायण पर्वत जेवा दी कुचा (दीकुंवा) ने पूछवउं कीम कामज्वाला तठे भड़काणी। उणा वे नाक हुंदा नथुणा ने बुजवउ उनी तर उनी सांसो नीसवता। सांच बोलाणा छै। सषी करड़ी पर सांच माष्या मरम। बाढती उतरावी।।

भाव अठत्रीसमौ।। ३८।।

राधाजी पोते ही चरणार्विदा पे जामती पूठरी ओपावी। तरे भगवान दरसाव करी संपाडा हेतु चालवउं। राधाजी जमनाजी कोडे हालया लागवी। मारग मारग ज्यूं ढीगा भरावी। तीम डीगे ढीगे भगवान रा अवजांषा पड़वउं।।

भाव ओनचवालीसमौ।। ३९।।

राधाजी भगवान रा दरसण करावी तिण दाण प्रेम भरी दरसावता नेना सूं नीर उवक पड़ावी। के सूजी पण पोते नेन भरावी दीवी। इण प्रकारे श्रीजी पण पीघलावी गीया हता।।

भाव चालीसमौ।। ४०।।

प्यारी राधाजी घणी दूरा थी आवीया (था) एम तमे थाकवीस। हूं तमारा कोमल चरण दवावी थकावटी ओछी करवउं। हे प्राण पीयारी तमारा बंधावी वस्त्र हूं परा उघाड़ी कीम तमारी बंधाव ढीली थइ जासे।

भाव एकचालीसमौ।। ४१।।

राधाजी उण दाण कामी भाव भरावी वीणी वेलां हाव भाव भरी केसूजी माथ पुरुष रूप भोग भोगावती इक सासा परी भरावी। कीम करतां भी पुरुष जीम ना थावी। उण री जांघा पाटवी ने नैन पर उवकीयां भराता ने धड़काव पण बढातरी पकड़ावीस। भगवान कीम ओछा पड़ावी। हटकै सेज्जां री नेज पण पटझटका तोड़ावी छै। वीजा दयाड़े ऊगमता भाण प्यारी जी रा नैन परा रत्याड़ा अने अंगे अंगे टूटण परी पड़ावी। भग (वान) सुंवारे दीठवउं के राधाजी री कांचली अधराड़ी तो भगवान तत्क्षण कामभूत परो चढावी। ईम राधाजी री मानी देह अनेक बार चतमन सूं भानणी (तावणी) करावी। धन्य द्वारका रा नाथ तमारी पण लीला अपरंपार छै। तमारा प्रेम रस थके द्राष पण फीकी पड़े, इमरत भी लजाड़तो मघ नी मीठास ओछु पड़ावीस श्री भगवान गोविंद री जांकी रा पानां कवराज जयदेव जी री गीत गोविंद री लिषत री सार रूप छै।।।।।।।। मम दोषो न दीयते।। इती शुभम।।

।। संवत १६५० फागुण शुक्ला ७ रविवार ग्राम जाउर मध्ये भक्तजन पठनार्थ।।
०।। जो (शी) कीरतदास चतराइ चरची।।

Appendix II

EDITIONS OF GĪTA GOVINDA

(In order of the year of Publication)

Editions of the *Gīta-Govinda* in order of the year of publication

		Year
1.	*Gīta-Govinda.* Calcutta Litho Press: No. title page. Devanagari.	1808
2.	*Gīta-Govinda.* Ed. Haeberlin, John (in *Kāvyasaṅgraha*) Calcutta. Pages 69-114) Devanagari.	1847
	Gīta Govindamamkitambuga, Andhra pratipadatika sāhitambuga). Jyotisakalanidi Press, Madras. Telugu script.	1956
4.	*Gīta-Govindamamkitambuga*: Sarasvatinilaya Press, Madras. Telugu script.	1856
5.	*Gīta-Govinda.* Ed. by Ketkar, G. R. and Amaragurkar, M.S. Poona. Pages 32.	1862
6.	*Gīta-Govinda* and *Rādhā-Vinoda* with commentary ed. by Narayan Vrittadeepa Press: Bombay. Pages 135.	1865
7.	*Iti Śrī Gīta-Govinda Ṭīkāyām dvādaśaḥ sargaḥ Bālabodhinī Ṭīkā* by Chaitanya Das. Calcutta. No title page: Title from Colophon. Pages 120.	1872
8.	*Gīta-Govinda* with *Bālabodhinī Ṭīkā.* N. L. Sīla Press, Calcutta. Pages 110.	1873
9.	*Gīta-Govindamamkitambuga.* Vidvanmoda Taraṅgi Press, Madras, Pages 72. Telugu script.	1873
10.	*Gīta-Govinda.* Published in *Kāvya sangraha,* Part I. Pages 69-109. Calcutta. See No. 2 above.	1873
11.	*Aṣṭapadī Gīta-Govinda.* Vidyavilasa Press, Calcutta. Pages 58. Malayalam script.	1874
12.	*Gīta-Govinda Kāvyamanu perugala aṣṭapadiya sugranthamu Idi.* Pratipada *Ṭīkā Sahitambhuga.* Sarasvatinilaya Press. Madras. Telugu script. See Nos. 3, 4 and 9 above.	1877
13.	*Gīta-Govinda Kāvya aṣṭapadī granthah.* Parabrahma Press, Trivallore. Pages 48. Grantha characters.	1881
14.	*Aṣṭapadī Gīta-Govindam.* Vidyavilasa Press, Calicut. Pages 66, Malayalam script. See No. 11 above.	1881
15.	*Gīta-Govindamamkitambuga (Andhra pratipadatika Sahitam)* Jnana Suryodaya Press, Madras. Pages 74. Telugu script.	1882
16.	*Gīta-Govinda.* Edited by Bhattacharaya Jibananda Vidyasagar & commentary. Saraswati Press, Calcutta. Pages 113.	1883
17.	*Gīta-Govinda.* With commentary. No title page. Calcutta.	1883
18.	*Atha Śrī Gīta Govindam Kāvyam Saṭīkam.* Niranaya Sagar Press. Pages 128.	1883
19.	*Gīta-Govinda with Bālabodhinī Ṭīkā.* N. L. Sils Press, Calcutta. See No. 8 above.	1883
20.	*Gīta-Govindam Kāvyam.* Aryotkarsa Press, Bombay. Pages 68.	1885
21.	*Gīta-Govinda.* Ed. Bhattacharya Jibanand Vidyasagar. (in *Kāvya-sangraha* 2nd ed.). Calcutta. Pages 643-688. See No. 16 above.	1886

22. *Gīta-Govindam : Saṭīkam Rādhāvinodam cha*. Vankateswara Press, Bombay. Pages 23. 1886

23. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam*. Commentary by Bhattacharya Jibananda Vidyasagar. Saraswati Press, Calcutta. Pages 113. 1888

24. *Śrī Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam* and *Rādhā Vinodam Bhāṣā Ṭīkā* in Hindi by Amritlal Bhattacharya. Sri Venkateswara Press, Bombay. Pages 186. See No. 22 above. 1891

25. *Gīta-Govindākhyam Kāvyam* with Vanamali's *Sañjivinī Ṭīkā*. Nawal Krishore Press, Lucknow. Pages 110. 1895

26. *Śrī Gīta-Gobindam* with *Ṭīkā* of Shri Pujari Goswami. Victoria Pustakalaya, Calcutta. Pages 172. Bengali script. 1897

27. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam Aṣṭapadī granthah*. Vyavahara Tarangini Press, Madras. Pages 35. Grantha characters. 1900

28. *Gīta-Govinda* with commentaries of *Rasikapriyā* of King Kumbhā and *Rasamañjari* of Sankara Misra ed. with various readings by Telang M. R. and Pansikar V. L. Niranaya Sagar Press, Bombay. Pages 176. 1899

29. Second edition of above. 1904

30. *Gīta-Govinda :* Selection of text included in Sanskrit Chrestomathic. Edited by Bohtingk, Otto. Pages 216-217. Leipzig. 1909

31. *Gīta-Govindam. Hindi Ṭīkā Sahita*. Hindi-Bangbasi Electro-Machine Press, Calcutta. Pages 93. 1910

32. *Śrī Gīta-Govindam*. Edited by Narasimham. Chandra Press, Madras. Telugu script. 1911

33. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam (aṣṭapadī)*. Madras. Vanibhusana Press, Madras. Pages 58. 1911

34. *Śrī Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam atha Rādhā Vinodam cha*. Lakshmi Venkateswara Press, Bombay. Pages 212. 4th Edition of No. 24 above. 1911

35. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam tathā Rādhāvinoda kāvyam cha* Hindi Ṭīkā by Pt. Vastirama. Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. Pages 161. 1913

36. *Śrī Gīta-Govindam Mahākāvyam*. Sastra Sanjivini Press, Madras. Pages 32. Grantha characters. 1914

37. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam Rādhāvinodakāvyam Kṛṣṇāṣṭottara śatanāma stotram ṣaṭpadī stotra sahitam cha*. Native Opinion Press, Bombay. Pages 64. 1915

38. *Gīta-Govinda* with Telugu commentary. Adi Saraswatinilaya Press, Madras Pages 272. Telugu script. 1918

39. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam Rādhāvinoda kāvyam cha* with Hindi *Ṭīkā* by Maharaj Dindiksit. Vishveshvara Press, Banaras. Pages 171. 1922

40. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam* with Hindi *bhāṣā Ṭīkā*. Gokul Press, Banaras. Pages 158 1952

41. *Śrī Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam tathā Rādhāvinoda Kāvya Śrī Rādhākṛṣṇa Samvāda Sahitam* with Hindi *bhāṣa Ṭīkā* by Sharma. Rameshwaradatta Vidyavilasa Press, Darbhanga. 1926

42. *Gīta-Govindam*. Vānivilāsa Press, Srirangam. Pages 27. 1926

43. *Śrī Gīta-Govinda Mahākāvyam*. Sastra Sanjivini Press, Madras. Pages 44. Grantha characters. 1928

44. *Gīta-Govinda* with commentaries *Rasikapriyā* of King Kumbhā and *Rasamañjarī* of Shankar Misra, ed. by Telang. 8th revised edition by Mathuranath Sastri.

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45. *Aṣṭapadī Gīta-Govinda Mahākāvyam.* Ed. and introduction by C. R. Srinivas Iyengar, Madras. Pages 260. 1948

46. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam* with commentaries *Rasikapriyā, Rasamañjarī* and extracts of commentaries *Dīpikā Padadyotanikā Sañjīvanī* and *Bālabodhinī* edited by Acharaya Narayana Ram. Niraṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay. Pages 206. 9th edition of No. 28 & 29 and 44 above. 1949

47. *Gīta-Govinda* with *abhinaya.* Ed. by and introduction by Sastri, Vasudeva K. Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore. Pages 142. 1950

48. *Śrī Gīta-Govinda.* Ed. by Chaturvedi Shankarlal. Pustaka Mandir, Mathura. Pages 124. 1952

49. *Śrī Śrī Gīta-Govindam* with Sanskrit commentary of Prabodhananda Saraswati. Ed. by Haridas Das Navadvipa. Pages 308. 1956

50. *Gīta-Govinda* with *abhinaya,* Ed. and introduction by Sastri Vasudeva K. T. S., Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore. Pages 142. 2nd edition of No. 47 above. 1963

51. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam* with King Mananka's commentary. Ed. by Kulkarni V. M. L. D. Institute, Ahmedabad. Pages 131. 1965

52. *Gīta-Govinda kāvyam.* Ed. and Hindi commentary by Kedarnath Sharma. Chowkhambha Sanskrit Series, Varanasi. Pages 72. 1968

53. *Gīta-Govinda Mahākāvyam* with various commentaries edited by Sarma, A. Deshpande. Sanskrit Academy, Osmania University, Hyderabad. Pages 402. 1969

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57. *Gīta-Govinda* with *Bālabodhinī* Commentary by Chaitanya Dasa. Translation by Kavyanuragi Sahṛdaya and review by Yadunath Nyaya Panchanana. Suhash Yantra (No. 165) Calcutta. Pages 136. 1860

58. *Gīta-Govinda.* Text with metrical translation by Rasamayadasa. Nrityalal Seal. Calcutta. Pages 96. See No. 54 and 56 above. 1869

59. *Gīta-Govinda svaralipi. Gīta-Govinda* set to music by Kshetramohan Gosvami, Calcutta. Pages 151. 1871

60. *Gīta-Govinda* with Pujari Gosvami's commentary and translation by Rasamayadasa. Arunodaya Ghosh Vidyaratna Press, Calcutta. (Illustrated). Pages 136. See Nos. 54, 56 and 58 above. 1873

61. *Gīta-Govinda* with commentary of Pujari Gosvami, in fact *Bālabadhinī Ṭīkā* by Chaitanyadasa, translation by Rasamayadasa. Prachina Bharata Yantra, Calcutta. See Nos. 54, 56, 58 and 60 above. 1873

62. *Gīta-Govinda* with Pujari Gosvami commentary and prose translation by Gangopodhyaya. Kedarnath Suryodaya Press, Calcutta. Pages 124. 1880

63. *Gīta-Govindam* with *Bālabodhinī Ṭīkā* by Chaitanayadasa here called Pujari Gosvami, Bengali translation by Ram

Mazumdar. Kamalkanta Press, Calcutta. Pages 142. 1883

64. *Gīta-Govinda.* Text with translation by Rasamayadasa. Ed. by Isanchandra Vasu. Viharilal Sarkar, Calcutta. Pages 193. See Nos. 54, 56, 58, 60 and 61 above. 1886

65. *Gīta-Govinda* with *Bālabodhinī Ṭikā* and translation by Vidyabhushan Harimohan. Town Press, Calcutta. Pages 62. 1885

66. *Gīta-Govinda* with *Bālabodhinī Ṭikā* by Chaitanyadasa and Bengali translation and introduction by Vidyabhushan Hari Mohan. Calcutta. Pages 62. 1886

67. *Gīta-Govinda* with Sanskrit commentary and Bengali translation by Vidyaratha, Prasanna Kumar. Janaki Press, Calcutta. Pages 112. 1886

68. *Gīta-Govinda prakṛta padyānuvāda.* Bengali translation by Giridhara. Edited by Shyamlal Vasaka. Art Union Press, Calcutta. Pages 87. 1888

69. *Gīta-Govinda.* Bengali metrical translation by Bandopadhyaya, Saratachandra and Ghose, Nagendranath. Calcutta. Pages 61. 1894

70. *Gīta-Govinda* with commentary by Pujari Goswami edited by Ghosh, Manindralal. Calcutta. Pages 61. 1897

71. *Gīta-Govinda* with Bengali translation. Calcutta. Incomplete. Title page missing. 1899

72. *Gīta-Govinda* with *Bālabodhinī Ṭīkā* edited and translation by Bhattacharya, Prasanna Kumar. The Translation & Publication, Calcutta Pages 170. See No. 67 above. 1901

73. *Gīta-Govinda* with *Bālabodinī Ṭīkā,* translation and life of Jayadeva by Shyamalal Vasak. Basak & Sons. Pages 390. See. No. 68 above. 1901

74. *Gīta-Govinda* with Bengali metrical translation in *vaiṣṇava padalaharī* by Lahiri Durgadas. Natabari Chakrabarti, Calcutta. Pages 31. 1905

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78. *Śrī Śrī Gīta-Govindam, Bālabodhini Ṭīkā* and translation by Mukhopadhya, Avinashchandra. Lotus Library, Calcutta. Pages 208. 1911

79. *Śrī Śrī Gīta-Govindam.* Pujari Goswami *Ṭīkā,* Bengali translation by Ray, Satish Chandra. Kamal Printing Works, Calcutta. (Illustrated). Pages 264. 1912

80. *Gīta-Govinda.* Text and translation by Vedantatirtha. The Translator. Calcutta. Pages 88. 1912

81. *Gīta-Govinda.* Text with Bengali translation by Mazumdar, Vijaya Chandra. Bengal Medical Library, Calcutta. Pages 113. See. No. 76 above. 1914

82. *Gīta-Govinda* with Bengali metrical translation by Bhattacharya, Raj Kumar. Calcutta. Pages 88. 1914

83. *Gīta-Govinda.* Bengali metrical translation called *Premamayī* by Pal, Mahatap Chandra. Sri B. Bandopadhyaya Press, Meherpur Nadia. Pages 92. 1918

84. *Gīta-Govinda.* Text and translation Mazumdar, Bijaya Chandra. Victoria

Press, Calcutta. Pages 143. See, No. 76
above. 1919

85. *Śrī Śrī Gīta-Govindam.* Translation by Vidyarathna, Kalimohan. Bengal Library, Calcutta. Pages 52. 1920

86. *Śrī Śrī Gīta-Govinda.* In *Mahājanī Kīrtana padāvalī* (pages 289-336) ed. by Vidyaratna Kalimohan, Calcutta. 1922

87. *Śrī Śrī Gīta-Govindam* in *Kīrtan padāvali* (pages 337-385) Translation by Vidyaratna Kalimohan, Calcutta. See Nos. 85, 86 and 87 above. 1924

88. *Śrī Gīta-Govindam* (in Yogindranath Chattopadhyaya volume, page 257-448). Calcutta. 1927

89. *Gīta-Govinda.* Translation and commentary by Ray, Kalidas. Saratchandra Chakaravarty & Sons, Calcutta. Pages 98 and coloured illustrations. 1929

90. *Śrī Śrī Gīta-Govindam.* Bengali translation by Das, Narahari. Aksaya Press, Calcutta. Pages 140. 1929

91. *Gīta-Govinda.* Text with Bengali metrical translation by Shankaradas, Vimala. Gupta Friends & Co. Calcutta. Pages 12. 1936

92. *Kavi Jayadeva O Śrī Gīta-Govinda.* Ed. and translation by Mukhopadhyaya. Harikrishna. Gurudas Chattopadhyaya. Pages 292. 1929

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95. *Chitra Jayadeva O Gīta-Govinda.* Text with metrical translation by Chattopadhyaya. Nripendra Krishna. Deva Sahitya Kutir, Calcutta. Pages 288 and illustrations. 1954

96. *Śrī Śrī Gīta-Govindam.* Ed. with metrical and prose translation by Anand. Akshya Library, Calcutta. Pages 157. 1955

97. *Gīta-Govinda.* Edited with *Bālabodhinī* commentary and translation by Mukhopadhyaya, Harikrishna. Gurudas Chattopadhyaya. Pages 150.
See, Nos. 92 and 93 above. 1955

98. *Śrī Śrī Gīta-Govindam.* Ed. with Sanskrit commentary of Prabodhananda Saraswati. Haridas Das. Nabadvipa. Pages 308. 1956

99. *Gīta-Govindam.* Ed. with *Vanamālī* commentary and Bengali translation by Mukhopadhyaya, Avinash Chandra. Gopaladas Mukhopadhyaya. Calcutta. Pages 208. 1961
See No. 78 above.

100. *Gīta-Govinda.* Translation by Mazumdar, Vijaya Chandra. Nutun Sahitya Bhavan. Calcutta. Pages 158 with illustrations. 1964

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See Nos. 92. 93 and 97 above.

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102. *Gīta-Govindākhyam* with commentary of *Vanamāli.* Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow. Pages 110. 1895

103. *Gīta-Govinda.* Hindi translation by Chattopadhyaya, Kevalaram, Calcutta. Pages 93. 1896

104. *Gīta-Govinda.* Text with Hindi translation by Pande, Rupanarayana. Lucknow Printing Press, Lucknow. Pages 89. 1905

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107. *Gīta-Govindam.* Ed. with Hindi commentary by Chaturvedi Shankarlal. Pustak Mandir, Mathura. Pages 124. 1954

108. *Gīta-Govinda.* Text with translation by Sharma, Vinayamohan. Atmaram & Sons, Delhi. Pages 150 and line drawings. 1955

109. *Gīta-Govinda.* Translation by Nagarjun. Kitab-Mahal, Allahabad. Pages 77. 1955

110. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam.* Edited with Hindi commentary *Indu* by Sharma, Kedaranath. Chowkambha Sanskrit Series, Varanasi. Pages 72. 1961

111. *Śrī Gīta-Govinda.* Text and translation by Goswami A. Yamuna Vallabh Goswami, Vrindavana, with illustration. 1969

112. *Gīta-Govinda* with Hindi translation by Chiranjiv Das. Vasanti Prakashan, Raigarh. Madhya Pradesh. 1969

113. *Gīta-Govinda* with *Sanskrit Bālabodhinī Ṭīkā* and Hindi translation by Sarma Gurudatta, with notes on *Rāgas.* Bobbay Shridhara Shivalal. Pages 160. No date (possibly around 1960)

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116. *Gīta-Govinda.* Prose translation by Sitaram C.B. T.V. Smaraka Granthamala, Mysore. 1961

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118. *Gītagovinda Kāvya athavā Aṣṭapadī* with the commentary *Rādha-Kṛṣṇa Vilāsam* by Sarma, V.S. Translation by Variyar Ramapurathu. V.V. & Bros., Trivandrum. Pages 324. 1947

119. *Aṣṭapadī Gīta-Govindam* with *Kṛṣṇalīlā Vilāsa* commentary and Malayalam translation by Nambissan P. K. Guruvayoor. Pages 179. 1949

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121. —do— 2nd ed. 1961

122. *Gīta-Govindam Aṣṭapadī.* ed. with Malayalam commentary Bhavapriya by K. Vasudevan, Musatu Gita Press, Trichur. 1953

123. *Gīta-Govinda* of Jayadeva by Vasudeva Musatu P. K. Bros. Kozhikode. Pages 44. 1961

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128. *Gīta-Govinda Kāvyam.* Translated by Apte, Dattatreya Ananta. Dhananjay Press, Khanapur. Pages 78. 1911

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Index

The following abbreviations have been used in the index:
[Author = au., country = co., division = di., Manuscript = ms., river = ri., same as = s.a., town = tn., village = vi.]

C

D

E

K

N

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R

S

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U

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W

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